THE MALAY PENINSULA



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HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ARTHUR YOUNG, K.C.M.G., GOVERNOR OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND HIGH COMMISSIONER TO THE MALAY STATES.

THE MALAY PENINSULA

A RECORD OF BRITISH PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BY

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AND

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WITH A MAP AND FIFTY-ONE ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

CHANGES in British Malaya have been so numerous and so wide-reaching in recent years that the authors feel that little need be said by way of justification of the production of this volume. The aim which they have kept steadily before them in their work has been the compilation of a comprehensive account of the development of British influence in the Middle East from the earliest times to the present day. On the one hand, they have sought to trace through their interesting windings the various movements, commercial and political, which led to the permanent planting of the Union Jack at both ends of the Straits of Malacca; on the other, they have attempted to sketch the modern influences which have firmly established British power on the mainland, and created there a centre of commercial activity of unrivalled importance amongst the tropical dependencies of the Crown. In dealing with the earlier episodes which figure in the story, the authors have relied very largely upon the records of the East India Company's operations in the Malayan sphere, which are a mine of information upon the social and political conditions that obtained in the latter part of the seventeenth, the whole of the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. On some phases of Straits history, more especially in regard to the events which immediately preceded the occupation of Penang, it has been possible to throw quite new light, with the aid of documents which have escaped attention hitherto.

Not the least interesting and valuable feature of this new material is the addition it makes to our knowledge of Captain Francis Light, the founder of Penang, who shares with Sir Stamford Raffles the honour of establishing British power in Malaya. In the later chapters of the book will be found, following upon a description of the Federated Malay States, an account of the non-federated States, including Trengganu, Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis, which were brought within the British sphere of influence in Malaya by the Anglo-Siamese Agreement of 1909. This territory, parts of which are little known, presents characteristics of peculiar interest from the social and political standpoint. It also has, undoubtedly, a great commercial future, as it provides a wide field for planting and mining enterprise. The new East Coast Railway, which, when completed, will link up the British Malayan railway system with the Siamese lines, and ultimately, doubtless, with the Indian and Chinese railways, is to be carried through the centre of Pahang and Kelantan, and in all probability the ruler of Trengganu, when he recognises the beneficial effects of the railway on neighbouring territories, will seek the co-operation of the Federated Malay States authorities in extending the line to Trengganu. Generally speaking, close attention has been given to the purely modern aspects of Malayan development. The remarkable tin mines of the Federated Malay States, which supply the world with half the tin it consumes, are fully described, as well as the equally striking rubber industry, which seems destined in the near future to contribute almost as large a proportion of the rubber used by civilisation. Incidentally, glimpses will be caught of the changes which are converting this No-Man's-Land of a few decades since into the home of one of the most thriving and contented communities owning the British sway.

Grateful acknowledgments have to be made by the authors of the valuable assistance rendered in the preparation of the volume, either by the loan of photographs or by the supply of information, by Government officials and others. To the ready disposition shown to place personal photographic collections at the authors' disposal is to be attributed the remarkably complete series of illustrations which accompanies the letterpress, and in this connection they would especially mention Mr. J. B. Scrivenor, of the Federated Malay States Civil Service, whose assistance has been invaluable, and the Malay States Information Agency. Acknowledgment is also gratefully made to the Editors of the Colonial Office List for permission to use the map of the Malay Peninsula which appears in that publication.

A. W.
T. H. R.

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Selangor.

H.H. Sir Suleiman bin Almerhum Raja Musa, K.C.M.G., Sultan

Negri Sembilan.

H.H. Tungku Mohamed, C.M.G., Yang di Pertuan of Negri Sembilan, and Chiefs.

Pahang.

H.H. Sir Ahmad Maätham Shah bin Almerhum Ali, K.C.M.G., Sultan.

Johore.

H.H. Sir Ibrahim, K.C.M.G., Sultan.

Kedah.

H.H. Sir Abdul Hamid Halimshah ibni Ahmat Tajudin, K.C.M.G., Sultan.

Perlis.

H.H. Raja Syed Alwi.

Kelantan.

H.H. Tuan Long Snik bin Almerhum Sultan Muhammed, Sultan.

Trengganu.

H.H. Sir Zainal Abdin ibni Almerhum Ahmad, K.C.M.G., Sultan.

The Malay Peninsula

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE Malay Peninsula is one of the most interesting and delectable regions of the tropical world. A rainfall which is distributed throughout the year clothes the landscape with verdure, and tempers the fierce heat of the sun to an extent remarkable in a country which is situated entirely within the first and seventh parallels of latitude. There are no great expanses of sterile plains and gaunt and inhospitable, rocky wastes to subtract from the sum of its physical attractions. From a deeply indented coast-line washed by a placid sea of azure hue rise lofty uplands which are carried in a series of ridges until they finally merge in a mountain range whose summit is lost in the clouds. Numerous streams intersect the land, winding through tangled forests and cultivated clearings, bearing with them to the sea the rich detritus torn from the mountain-side in the remote interior. Islands of emerald hue bestud the ocean in sufficient proximity to the mainland to add to the infinite variety and charm of a scene which never surfeits the eye.

The points of human interest in the region are many, but for the Briton they are to be found in four clearly defined centres. In the northern extremity of the Peninsula, standing well out into the Straits of Malacca,

is the beautiful island of Penang, associated with narrow strips of territory on the mainland comprising Province Wellesley and the Dindings. These, the oldest of the British possessions making up that colony, the Straits Settlements, are balanced at the opposite end of the Straits by the island of Singapore. "Compassed by the inviolate sea," this noble outpost of Empire in an incomparable strategical position safeguards the political and commercial supremacy of Britain in the Middle and Far East. Midway between the two Settlements, at almost the narrowest part of the Straits of Malacca, is the town which gives its name to that great waterway. Slumberous, picturesque, and a little the worse for centuries of wear, Malacca represents the ancient *régime*, the time of Francis Xavier, the prince of missionaries, and of Albuquerque, the warrior, the days of fierce contention and deadly rivalry between Portuguese and Hollanders, when the waters of the Straits were reddened with the blood of European adventurers sailing under the flag of one or other nation. Lastly, in the background, in striking contrast to this old-world Settlement, is Kuala Lumpur, the capital of that important political agglomeration, the Federated Malay States—a fair, wide-spreading city which has been conjured up in the jungle wastes of Malaya, partly by the exigencies of Imperial policy and partly by the aggressive enterprise of a commercial era. Together, the several elements which go to make up British Malaya constitute a splendid edifice the like of which does not elsewhere exist. From small beginnings it has grown into a mighty framework, destined, as all who have followed its marvellous growth agree, to carry a still mightier superstructure.

A veil of mystery, apparently almost impenetrable,

obscures the early history of the Malay Peninsula. Theories more or less fantastic have been advanced both in the present generation and in past centuries relative to the part that Malaya played in the economy of the ancient world. Manuel Godinho de Eredia, a Portuguese, in a narrative written at Goa in 1613, elaborates the view that in the earliest centuries of the Christian era there was a regular trade between Egypt and the Coromandel Coast and from thence to the Malay Peninsula. By means of excerpts from Ptolemy and other classic writers, he seeks to trace the exact route followed by the ancient traders and to identify Malacca with a famous mart of that period through which travellers passed by way of an isthmus, subsequently destroyed by convulsions of nature, to Sumatra—the Golden Chersonese of the ancients, he maintains. There is plausibility in the theory that the commerce which undoubtedly existed between Egypt and India in the dawn of the Christian era was extended from the latter country to the Malay Peninsula and the rich islands beyond. Spices then even more than now were indispensable commodities of life, and the known world was ransacked to meet the insistent demands of the great markets of the Orient and the Mediterranean. In such circumstances, trading intercourse would almost inevitably have extended southwards until touch was obtained with the territories and islands of Malaya, the natural home of many of the products most in favour. But when this much has been conceded we are still a long way from the solution of the problem of the origin of the civilised order which Europeans found in Malaya when they first set foot on the Peninsula in the fifteenth century. The difficulties of elucidation are rendered the greater by the fact that no architectural remains of

whose jealousy had been excited by the extraordinary prosperity of the port. The first assault was beaten off, but, through the treacherous connivance of some of the local Raja's subjects, the city was ultimately captured.

After the custom of the age, the inhabitants were put to the sword by the conquerors. A vast number perished, but a considerable minority managed to escape up the Straits to Malacca, where, amid new surroundings, they sought to revive the tarnished glories of Singapura. Fortune smiled on their efforts to such an extent that in a few generations Malacca was a name renowned throughout the East as that of a mart for the distribution of products gathered in the Indian and Chinese seas. In the opening years of the sixteenth century, when the city was visited by Lewis Wertemanns, a native of Rome, it was ruled over by a Raja who appears to have paid tribute to the Emperor of China in recognition of aid given to his predecessors in the founding of the Settlement—an event which was placed at a period eighty years previously. If we read the narrative of Wertemanns in conjunction with the story in the Malay Annals, there seems to be fair ground for the presumption that there was no important settlement of the Malay Peninsula until the fifteenth century, and that Singapore has an ancestry as a place of civilised settlement which does not go back much beyond eight hundred years. The power of the great race which had built up the ornate fabric of civilisation in Java had, even at the earlier date, long passed its zenith, and an era of intellectual decadence had set in, which the Malay ascendancy had not the power or possibly the aptitude to arrest. Hence it is not at all surprising that we look in vain to-day among the ashes of the historic centres of Malay authority for traces of that culture which we know to have existed



THE SULTAN OF PERAK.

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many centuries since in the highest form in the island beyond the Sunda Straits.

Few events in ancient or modern history have had a more wide-reaching effect on the fortunes of the East than Vasco da Gama's great exploit in 1497 in rounding the Cape. While it was destined in course of years to introduce into every great State of the East a disturbing and even disintegrating element, its almost immediate effect was to create direct ties between Europe and the Malay Archipelago. Amongst the mass of information carried back by da Gama was more or less definite information about the trade of the Malayan countries, and of their intimate connection with the Spice Islands—those opulent isles of the Eastern seas which in a vague and shadowy way had long fascinated the mediæval European mind. The Portuguese Government having taken due note of the facts brought to light, in 1501 despatched an expedition from Lisbon with the object of discovering a western passage to these islands, which, by a confusion of ideas easily understandable, were known generically by the name of Melcha or Melacca. The expedition failed in its purpose, but Tristan da Cunha, who left Lisbon in 1506, on the ninth of the series of voyages conducted from Portugal, paid a visit to Tenasserim, which he described as "the first mart for spices in India." His enterprise greatly extended the knowledge of the countries of the Middle East, and paved the way for the expedition led by Albuquerque, which, in 1511, attacked and captured Malacca. Here the Portuguese built a fair city, with churches and houses pleasantly embowered in gardens, and encircled it with magnificent fortifications, which made it the most formidable place in the East to attack. They drew to the place all the trade of the Middle East, and their heavily freighted galleons took

to Europe cargoes of spices which brought affluence to the mother-country and made Lisbon the most important commercial centre in Europe for the time being. For nearly a hundred years the Lusitanian power was maintained in undisputed pre-eminence in the Straits of Malacca. Then the scene changed.

Probably the influence of sea power was never more strikingly demonstrated than in the consequences which flowed from the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Up to that period, by virtue of Pope Alexander VI.'s historic decree dividing the New World between them, Spain and Portugal had exercised a rigid monopoly of all commerce within their respective spheres. Ships of other nations which navigated the seas did so at their peril. Drake, who in 1577–80 conducted his famous circumnavigation of the world, carrying the flag of England in the course of his voyage through the Straits of Malacca, was regarded by the Spanish, probably not without some justification, as a pirate, and his action in trespassing upon Spanish preserves was one of the causes which led up to the memorable attack of 1588. When the Spanish power at sea had been finally broken, both the great Protestant marine nations of the West took advantage of their newly acquired freedom to despatch expeditions to the East. The first to take action, England in 1591 sent out to the East, under Captain James Lancaster, an expedition of three small ships with the specific object of obtaining a share of the valuable spice trade. Rounding the Cape in safety, the little squadron, after a call at Zanzibar, arrived off Penang in June, 1592. What took Lancaster to this spot, whether accident or prescience, or definite information from passing ships on the way, we do not know; but it may well have happened that foreknowledge of some kind had been derived from

Drake or his men, who, when sailing through the Straits, not improbably heard something of the advantages of Penang as a centre for recruiting and refitting ships. Lancaster's need when he reached Penang was dire. His crews were decimated with scurvy, and he had hardly sufficient able-bodied men to navigate the ships. No fewer than twenty-six of the small complement of the fleet died on the island. Good air and fresh food, however, worked wonders on the survivors, and Lancaster, felt strong enough, after a time, to make raids on the Portuguese. Several ships were held up and their cargoes of pepper transferred to the English ships. At length, towards the end of August, when holds were full and crews were once more in good physical condition, Lancaster set his face homewards. Off the Cape he encountered a terrible storm, in which he lost two of his ships, including his own—the *Edward Bonaventure*. He managed himself to escape with a sufficient proportion of his dubiously acquired wealth to carry home to the mercantile mind of London an appreciation of the enormous potentialities of Eastern trade. The direct outcome of his adventure was the establishment of the East India Company—that great trading organisation which in the fulness of time was to endow Britain with her magnificent Indian Empire. Lancaster, upon whom was about this time conferred the distinction of knighthood, was in 1600 appointed the Company's first Governor-General, and was entrusted with the charge of the pioneer fleet which went out in 1601. Four vessels of small tonnage composed the squadron; together they would not make up the capacity of an insignificant "tramp" steamer of to-day; but they were well found, and they had the advantage, in addition to Lancaster's skill, of the sea knowledge of Davies, the famous navigator, who, by

special permission of the Crown, was permitted to accompany the expedition. The fleet, after putting in at the Nicobar Islands, reached Acheen, the northern portion of Sumatra, in 1602.

Lancaster had a very favourable reception from the local ruler, and did such a brisk trade in pepper that he was able, without any great delay, to despatch two of his ships home fully laden with the commodity which then, above almost any other, was the staple of Eastern trade. He himself returned to England in 1603 to stimulate afresh the interest of the mercantile community in the development of the Eastern trade. Expeditions followed in quick succession after this period, side by side with others from Holland, where the idea of capturing a share of the lucrative spice trade had gained a firm hold. Their history belongs to Java and the Eastern Islands rather than to British Malaya. But a brief sketch of the events which accompanied the efforts of the East India Company to establish a footing in the Middle East in the seventeenth century is necessary for the full elucidation of the narrative.

The earliest settlement of the British in the Middle East was made in the opening years of the seventeenth century at Bantam, in Java, then a port of some consequence owing to its proximity to the Sunda Straits, the great waterway through which almost all ships from Europe to the East in those days passed. For a brief space English and Dutch lived here together in amity, but Holland, upon whom the heat and burden of the conflict with Portugal had chiefly fallen, was not disposed to share the prize of the spice trade with any rival. Gradually there was developed between the representatives of the two countries in the Middle East a bitter feeling, breaking out now and again into overt hostility. The English were frustrated

in all attempts that they made to establish themselves in the Moluccas, and as the Dutch power grew their movements were still more circumscribed by their indefatigable rivals.

Both the English and the Dutch companies had removed their factories, about 1611, from Bantam and re-established them at Jakatra, the modern Batavia; but the Dutch were not content to work on a footing of equality. By clever diplomacy and aggressive action at the right moment they obtained a predominant position in the place, and eventually asserted claims to jurisdiction over the Englishmen on the strength of a treaty with the reigning native prince. Driven out of Jakatra by these tactics, the Englishmen ultimately took refuge in Bantam, where they strove to re-establish themselves away from the irritating interference of the Dutch. They were for a time left in peace, but when it became evident that they were making a serious bid for the spice trade the Dutch extended their attentions to them to their new home. For years the conflict of interests continued, with results almost invariably unfavourable to the English East India Company, which, under stress of the troubled times at home, had fallen into poverty. Later on, when the political sky cleared in England, the attention of the Company became concentrated on India, which presented a far more splendid field for exploitation than the Archipelago, with all its fabled wealth. More and more, therefore, the Middle Eastern sphere of influence was resigned to the Hollanders, and under the inspiriting influence of their successes their pretensions increased until they developed into a claim to a monopoly of the trade. A final touch was put upon their arrogance when, in 1684, having concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Bantam, they used the prince's influence to secure the expulsion of the English from his territory.

The exclusion from Java was a heavy blow to the East India Company. It touched the organisation in a tender spot—the pepper trade—which was one of the mainstays, it might almost be said *the* mainstay, of the Eastern trade of the period. Steps were therefore almost immediately taken to repair the loss that Dutch exclusiveness had inflicted. Acheen, which ever since Lancaster's visit at the beginning of the century had been regarded as a possible English sphere of influence, was selected as the point for making the new departure. Thither was sent from Madras in 1684 a mission, consisting of Messrs. Ord and Cawley, two experienced officials, with instructions to obtain a grant of a site for a new Settlement. By a curious chance, there happened to be on the throne of the State at this juncture a woman, one of a line of queens who ruled the country in the latter part of the seventeenth century. She received the strangers graciously, and manifested a quite feminine curiosity in their attire—more especially their wigs, which, at her special request, were removed for inspection. The royal lady, however, was as shrewd as she was inquisitive. She refused point-blank to grant the application for land for a fortified position. Even if the Governor of Madras filled her palace with gold, she could not, she stated, permit the English to erect permanent brick or stone fortifications. They might trade with Acheen, as they had been accustomed to do in past years, and she was even willing to allow them to construct a factory of timber and plank for the purposes of their strictly commercial operations. Further than this, however, she would not go, in spite of all the arguments used by the envoys. The attitude taken up was due to a not unreasonable apprehension that any concession of a permanent kind to the English would embroil the State with the Dutch, who had

already shown a most unpleasant disposition to encroach on Acheenese rights. Messrs. Ord and Cawley, finding that nothing further was to be gained at Acheen, made preparations to return to India. Before they left they were visited by some Malay chiefs, who exercised authority over Priaman and other districts on the West Coast, and who had proceeded to Acheen in the hope of securing aid to resist threatened Dutch aggression. At the interview which followed, the offer was made to the English officials of land for a fortified Settlement on their territory, together with a monopoly of the pepper trade of that part of the coast. The Englishmen were quick to see the opportunity which the overture offered of effecting the Company's purpose. As they had no authority to commit their employers to an agreement, they induced the chiefs to return with them to Madras. The outcome of the business was the conclusion, in 1685, of an understanding which gave the East India Company for the first time a really permanent foothold in Malaya.

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF BRITISH POWER

Occupation of Bencoolen—Dire straits of the early settlers—Social life—The pepper trade.

A CYNIC has said that the British Empire was created in a fit of absence of mind. There is more of point in the self-directed shaft than the average Briton is prepared to admit. Foresight, in the supreme direction at all events, was oftentimes singularly lacking in the early work of "pegging out claims for posterity." Conspicuously was this so in the case of British Malaya. Though to-day a compact and self-contained possession of the Crown, occupying a position of extraordinary advantage regarded from the standpoint of trade as well as of political influence, its component parts were brought together in the most casual way, in certain instances in the face of the direct opposition of those who sat in the seats of the mighty at the particular period. The first venture was a marked example of haphazard selection. The orders sent out by the Court of Directors were that a Settlement should be made at Priaman, which had been a place of resort of the Company's ships for decades, and was considered to occupy a favourable position for the staple commerce. But Mr. Ord, the official who was entrusted with the enterprise, sailed past this spot and established a Settlement at Bencoolen. It was afterwards stated that the choice of Bencoolen as

the new centre was due to the fact that adverse winds carried the expedition beyond Priaman, and that it then became impossible to fetch the point first intended owing to the advanced period of the season. There is, however, abundant reason for thinking that Mr. Ord's failure to reach Priaman was intentional. The Council at Madras had their own views about the position that should be selected for the new factory, and those views were not in harmony with the orders from home. The Indian officials were influenced in their choice of Bencoolen by the knowledge that a considerable proportion of the pepper previously shipped from Bantam on the Company's account had come from Sillebar, in the vicinity of that place, and by the further circumstance that it was the windward port at the period of the year chosen for the expedition. Acting on his instructions from Fort St. George, Mr. Ord, on June 25, 1685, took possession of the territory assigned to the Company at Bencoolen. Then, having left as local Governor Mr. Bloome, an experienced servant of the Company, he sailed to Indrapour, where he found three Englishmen associated with a small trading establishment which had been founded some time previously by a man named Du Jardin. Intelligence reached him here that the Dutch, as a consequence of receiving information of the Company's designs on Priaman, had, in pursuance of their accustomed policy of intelligently anticipating their rivals' plans, occupied the place themselves.

The action taken by the Hollanders was conclusive against the execution of the Court's orders, even if there had been any desire to carry them out, and Mr. Ord was content to round off his mission by establishing a subsidiary Settlement at Manduta. Thereafter he returned to Madras, leaving Governor Bloome to make good his footing on the West Sumatran Coast As most of the

stores and reinforcements from home had been despatched to Priaman in the expectation that that centre would be the site of the new factory, the duty assigned to him was one of no ordinary difficulty. To add to his troubles, sickness broke out amongst his men. In a short time the little band of pioneers were reduced to terrible straits. Nothing, indeed, hardly could exceed the poignant anguish of the first despatches which were sent home from the infant Settlement. Writing from Fort York, as the new factory had been christened, in October, 1685, Governor Bloome said, "Wee now give Your Honour an account of our wofull state and condition which God grant better! . . . Of ye English soldiers are dead 11, and of ye Portuguese not above 4 and of ye black workmen not above 15 y[t] is capable of working. Of them are dead about 40 and daily dies for he that falls it is hard for him to rise. All our servants are sick and dead, and at this minute not a cooke to get victuals ready for those that sett at the Company's table, and such have been our straits that wee have many times fasted: Ye sick neglected. Some cry for remedies, but none to be had. Those that could eat have none to cooke their victuals. . . . Soe that wee now have not living to bury ye dead and if one is sick ye other will not watch, for hee says better one than two die. Soe that people die and noe notice is taken thereof."

"Ffeavour and flux" were the chief causes of death it is to be gathered from the mortality lists which accompany the despatches; but that the climate was not alone responsible for the awful sickness is clear from entries such as the following which figure in the records: "John Mecklockin dyed as most of ye people do by irregularity in sleeping upon ye ground, notwithstanding they have a good house and every man his cabin; eating all kinds of trash."

When the Court of Directors learned of the position that had been occupied in disobedience of their orders, they vented their displeasure in an indignant despatch. "It was," they wrote, "a fatall and never enough to be repented errour of our President and Council of Fort St. George [Madras] to break all our orders for a settlement at Pryaman upon a caprice of their owne to send our ships, spend our strength, our money and soe many men's lives upon a settlement at such an unhealthful place as Bencoolen, because they heard there was more pepper there, which was noe news to us before wee writt a line concerning Pryaman, but wee avoided that place and others neare Sillebar because they were too neare Batavia and that we knew by long and ancient experience that they were unhealthful and, therefore, did purposely direct and enjoin Pryaman to be ye principall place of settlement and first secured and made as strong as Fort St. George." Meanwhile, in a practical way, the Court endeavoured to minimise the consequences of the blunder that had been perpetrated by issuing instructions to the captain of an outward-bound ship to be as helpful as he could to the authorities at Bencoolen. The departing functionary was particularly enjoined to give the best advice he could for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the new Settlement. The true principles which should guide these people, they opined, were embodied in a temperate regimen—their "liveing chiefly upon rice, with a little salt fish to season it and drinking of water distilled by ye engine we sent them for that purpose, and in frequently bathing of there naked bodies in cold water as ye nations do which whoever uses generally speaking live longest and in most health, as we have observed with much conversation with persons that formerly lived at Bantam and Jambee." The engine referred to for distilling water is described in some detail

in another despatch. It must have been one of the earliest appliances of the kind sent out to the East. The directors in this communication expressed the belief that with due precautions as to the mode of life Bencoolen might in time be made as healthy as were Bombay and Bantam, which, on their original settlement, were very undesirable places of residence. They added that if their expectations were realised the new factory would want for no charge to strengthen it against all the powers of the Dutch, because the Company had outgrown the fear of their threats of war in India, "wee well knowing that if ever such an accident happened they are a broad[er] mark to hitt at in India than we are, and wee know there wick [weak] sides and shall keep ourselves always full of goods at home that we may be at leisure to assault as well as to defend if ever they put it to us againe, which is such a posture as ye Company was never in for ye 100 years last past."

The defiant note in the concluding sentence of the passage quoted supplies the explanation of the reason for the retention of the Settlement. Clearly the Company deemed it to be of the first importance to obtain a place of trade in the Middle East in order that they might not be squeezed out of the region altogether by their forceful rivals. And they were undoubtedly right; for if they had withdrawn from Bencoolen, there would probably have been an end to their influence in the Malayan region: the magnificent territories there over which the British flag now flies would in all likelihood have fallen under Dutch domination—they could hardly in conceivable circumstances have become British. Yet, great as was the value of Bencoolen as a rallying-point at a critical period, there is no disguising the fact that, regarded as a commercial Settlement, it was one of the worst of the bad bargains of the East India Company. It was too far removed from the



SUNLIGHT IN THE JUNGLE, KLANG RIVER, SELANGOR.

To face p. [illegible]

route taken by ships to China to be of any service as a port of call; too isolated from India to be useful for the refitting and revictualling of vessels engaged in the Indian trade; and was situated in a district which had neither the natural advantages nor the population requisite to make it a strong self-supporting base.

Bencoolen was for nearly 140 years a possession of the East India Company. For about three-quarters of that period it was the solitary position east of India which the Company occupied in full sovereignty. Its history has been obscured by the rise of other and more important centres of British influence in the Middle East, and for the most part the story of its long life is entombed in some 150 ponderous volumes of records which are preserved at the India Office in Whitehall. Brief and abstract chronicles of a long-past day, these time-stained documents enable us to secure a vivid picture of that little community of British traders which, for generations in a position of splendid isolation, kept the flag flying in Malaya. How they lived, how they quarrelled, what they ate and drank, what were their tastes, and what even were their vices, are all set forth in occasionally painful detail in those volumes. At the earliest period the Settlement consisted of Fort York, a brick structure by the seashore of inconsiderable size, with a single street in which native traders plied their operations. Later on a larger fortified position was erected on a more advantageous site farther inland, and, as a compliment to the great Duke who was at that moment winning "great praise" by his victories in Europe, was called Fort Marlborough—a name which afterwards came to be used to designate the Settlement as a whole. Under the shadow of the fort was the *pagar*, or enclosure, in which the slaves were herded. These unfortunate individuals, to the number of several hundred,

were imported chiefly from Madagascar, and were entered in the books of the factory with unfailing regularity just like the ordinary chattels of the Company. For more than a hundred years the shadow of the terrible system brooded over the station. That it was a curse can hardly be questioned in the light of the facts disclosed, which show that local enterprise never really flourished, and that more than once the whole organisation was in danger of collapse because of the inherent rottenness of the foundations on which the system was built. The ordinary social life of the factory proceeded on narrow lines. All the leading officials lived together in the fort, a not very happy family if we may judge from the rather lurid accounts of "regrettable incidents" which disturbed the harmony of the proceedings. Here is one thoroughly delightful episode characteristic of the relations maintained between the various elements of the little community:—

"FORT YORK, *Aug.* 23, 1690.

"Lieut. Samuel Williams after supper being heard a little louder than ordinary and somewhat lavish and prodigal in his tongue to Mr. Hugh Kennedy he was commanded to be silent, but instead of obeying he came up to ye head of ye table and daming ye chiefe and all present and declaring he wore a sword with abundance of insollent, disrespectful, saucy language so much used by him to be tedious by repetition upon which he was forbid ye Honble Company's table."

An undue addiction to the worship of Bacchus was probably the cause of this and similar outbreaks solemnly recorded by the veracious official chronicler. There is abundant proof in the accounts that liquor flowed very freely at the Company's table. One little bill amongst

many of a similar description preserved is the following:—

"FORT YORK, *Nov.* 11, 1695.

"The Deputy Governor producing the following account of liquors spent by him at the public table on board the London frigatt at this place and Tryamong it is allowed and ordered to be paid.

	Rylls.
1 Cask of Batavia Arrac	18
24 Gallons of White wine	18
6 do. Spawhawn Wine	12
120 Potts of Hockshew	29
4½ gal. of Black cherry brandy	18
1 Butt English Sower	10
44 Gallon of Europe wine	132
40 Gallon Stony Beer	40
14 do. Brandy	42
Rylls.	319"

For six or seven persons for a period which did not extend over six months, this is certainly a very respectable allowance. The various items are not always easy to identify, but the quality of potencv is written pretty largely over the extract. As a rule, the Company's table appears to have been supplied with Madeira, which it is to be gathered from references to the wine was considered the most wholesome alcoholic beverage for the European constitution. The officials were rather exacting in the matter of the quality of their wine. On one occasion, when a consignment had been forwarded which did not meet their approval, they sent home a "cheeky" request that if wine of a better type could not be supplied none should be sent. On the other hand, they were ready to acknowledge the adoption of right methods in the forwarding of the consignments of their creature comforts. Once, when ten pipes of Madeira had reached them by way of Madras, they wrote enthusiastically to the effect that the

good quality and condition of the wine due to the roundabout method of despatch made ample amends for the extra trouble taken, and they requested their Honours in Leadenhall Street to favour them by adopting a similar plan in future.

For defensive purposes, a mixed force of Europeans and "Topazes" or native Indian Christians was maintained. The former, young men brought directly from England in many cases, died off like flies under the enervating influences of the climate, combined with the effects of irregular living. The Court's ideas of the functions of the military were set out in one of their earliest despatches. "We expect," they wrote, "that each captain should exercise his company several times in each week or as often as weather will permit until they are as perfect as it is possible for soldiers to be, and perform all their exercises readyly and decently by beat of drum as well as vocall command, the manner whereof as it is now used in the King's Guard. If you happen to have any novice or dull blockheaded fellow in either of your companies you must see that your serjeant or his file leader be constantly tutoring of him untill he can perform all his posture readily and gracefully as the best." In a final burst of self-complacency, the directors, referring to the force originally sent out, said: "The very sight of the compleat exercise of two such companies of 120 men each beside that it is very beautifull in itself will make you feared and admired by all that hate you." As soon as the Settlement was established, the question of recruiting the military from local material came up for consideration. A communication sent home in the early days of the occupation indicates that the authorities of that period did not entertain any high opinion of the openings in this direction. "We think it not convenient," they wrote, "to

entertain any of the Mallays as soldiers, for being such perfidious people as by daily experience wee find them to be wee should only furnish them with arms to do ourselves an injury." The Court, replying apparently to this letter, suggested that some of the Madagascar slaves might be trained as soldiers. "They would," the despatch remarked, "maintain the ballance in case of need against an enemy, they being as much strangers to ye Sumatrans as they are to us, and wee suppose five of them will not cost us so much to maintain as one English soldier: soe that if upon consideration you find convenient you may encourage some of them to keep guarde and watche in their courses at convenient places there and under such officers as you shall appoint them, with lances, darts and swords and other weapons of India, but teach them not ye use of firearms." In a subsequent despatch the Court repeated the instructions. "Some of ye blacks that speak English," the writers said, "if in want of soldiers you may arme and may make them keep guarde to ease your English soldiers; but trust them not too much; neither ever arm or exercise of them above 10 of them to 30 English soldiers, and in an especiall manner we require you not to give any of your soldiers any arrack or brandy by weekly allowances, but by a stewart one dram at a time, three times as ye think best in each day for which they are to allow out of their pay (since wee have so great increased their wages) as they are for all other clothes and provisions which ye shall spare them." The experiment of arming the slaves proved, as might have been expected, highly unsatisfactory. Men in a condition of bondage are not the stuff of which soldiers are made. In the later stages of its existence Bencoolen indented on India to a large extent for its garrison. But the backbone of the defensive force throughout was British.

Socially, life ran in sluggish channels in this pioneer Settlement of British Malaya. It is rather difficult to put ourselves in the places of the original settlers. To do so we must imagine a state of existence in which there were no clubs, no hotels, no roads, and, of course, no railways, in which ice was a Utopian dream, in which a mail from Europe at a more frequent interval than twelve months was a nine days' wonder, and in which the most thrilling amusement for a European was a little illicit cock-fighting in a Malay village. A circumstance which added to the terrible monotony of life was the rigid lines upon which the local Society, or what passed for it, was organised. The superior officialdom consisted of factors, writers, and officers in charge of the military, with, as the eighteenth century wore on, a chaplain to keep them in order. These were all known as "covenanted servants," a term continued in use to this day to distinguish the higher branch of the Indian and Colonial Civil Services from the subordinate ranks. Salaries were miserably low in accordance with our modern views. A list published in the records for 1747 shows that at that period the highest emolument was £200 per annum, which was paid to the Deputy Governor. The second official in point of seniority received but £30, and writers were paid only £20 or even less. They seem all to have been very young men, for the Deputy Governor, whose age is given as thirty-three, is recorded to have arrived on the coast on July 13, 1731, or when he was only sixteen. In connection with the low salaries, it has to be borne in mind that the superior staff were allowed the privilege of private trading—a liberty they availed themselves of so freely that the Company's interests were seriously prejudiced. It must further be noted that the officials were either maintained at the Company's expense or given "diet money." Still, the remuneration was paltry,

especially for the younger men who were not in the way of participating in the good things going.

European ladies were non-existent in the Bencoolen community in the first period of its settlement. The earliest reference to them is in a letter sent home from Fort York on January 30, 1703. In this the Court were informed that amongst their servants there were several whose wives were in England and who were very desirous of having them out. "Therefore," concluded the writers, "on their application to your honours we intreat they may have liberty to come to them which will be a means to retain them here." The petition seems to have been favourably received, and in course of years a fairly large European community was established. Society, however, must have been somewhat mixed in character if we take as a fair sample of the various elements of the community the following, whose names appear in a "list of militia belonging to the Right Honourable United Company at York Fort, 1709:—

"Alexander Campbell, ensigne, married to a Costeeze.

"John Pennington, married to a black woman.

"Robert Usher, married in England.

"Samuel Goodwin, married to a black woman.

"James Duff, married to an Englishwoman."

A "list of covenanted servants" appended has at the head "the Hon. Richard Skingle, married to an Englishwoman." Four members of Council are stated to have been married in England. Then come the names of Samuel Stothard, Resident of Sillebar, "married to a Costeeze," and John Hunter, Doctor, "married to a Costeeze." From yet another list compiled at the time, giving the names of "free men and inhabitants," we gather that there were in residence at Bencoolen "Mr. Ridley, formerly Governor, married to an Englishwoman,"

one "married woman," two "widows," and three "unmarried English ladies."

The commercial interests of Bencoolen centred almost exclusively in the pepper trade. It was for this prize that the English and Dutch had striven throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century, and the new move of the London organisation, as we have seen, was largely inspired by the desire to get a fresh and firmer grip on the product at the centres of production. The aim sought was eventually achieved, but at the outset the determined hostility of the Hollanders had to be reckoned with. When the Batavia Government found that their rivals were not to be deterred from carrying out their purpose, they sent forces to occupy territory in the immediate vicinity of the outposts established by the Bencoolen authorities. In this way they "nursed" the Settlements out of existence in most instances by drawing from them their trade. Against Bencoolen itself, however, they were not able to accomplish much, and in the end they resigned themselves to the inevitable presence of the British flag within the Malayan area. The ultimate freedom vouchsafed to the Bencoolen executive enabled them to build up a fairly complete system of dealing with the pepper trade. To ensure constant supplies of the product arrangements were made with local chiefs by which certain areas should be planted with the pepper vine on the understanding that the Company purchased all the produce at a fixed rate. At several points on the coast Residents were stationed to supervise the arrangements for cultivating and harvesting the pepper. They had disciplinary powers over the cultivator which they were not slow to exercise occasionally to the detriment of the public peace. Men were put in the stocks, fined and imprisoned, and even subjected to harsher treatment because they had not been able to

produce their tale of pepper vines. Nothing that even the sternest administrators could do, however, could eradicate the tendency of the easy-going and pleasure-loving Malay to backslide as the years of his contract lengthened. The records, in fact, are one long testimony to the impossibility of working a system of tropical agriculture on Malayan principles. In spite of all drawbacks, the trade attained very considerable proportions in the first years of the eighteenth century, an additional impetus being given to the operations by the union of the rival East India Companies in London. The actual export of the commodity in the five years from 1701 to 1706, according to an estimate given in the records, was 6,011 tons. The trade was maintained on something like this scale for a long period, but it was never a paying proposition. The enormous initial charges of the Settlement—the fortifications alone cost £250,000—together with the inevitable expensiveness of the establishment in the absence of any source of local revenue, prohibited profit, even if the Company had been as well served as it was badly served during the years of the Settlement's existence. A factor which tended to reduce the chances of a lucrative trade was the disposition shown as the century wore on to substitute gambier cultivation for that of pepper. The Company's officials did their utmost to suppress the obnoxious practice, but the only result of their interference was a serious outbreak in the districts of Laye and Polley, in the suppression of which some lives were lost and a large sum of money was expended. An even heavier blow than the diversion of the planters' energies to gambier was struck soon after this by the French occupation of the Settlement in 1760, to which reference will be made in the next chapter. The industry was to some extent resuscitated on the reoccupation of the place by the

British, but the annual supplies dwindled until they finally reached an almost negligible amount. Still the scent of pepper clung to the Settlement to the last, and it is probably best remembered to this day by an apocryphal story which attributes to the Court of Directors the *faux pas* of instructing the Bencoolen executive to increase the cultivation of white pepper—white pepper, of course, being only a prepared variant of the natural black berry.

CHAPTER III

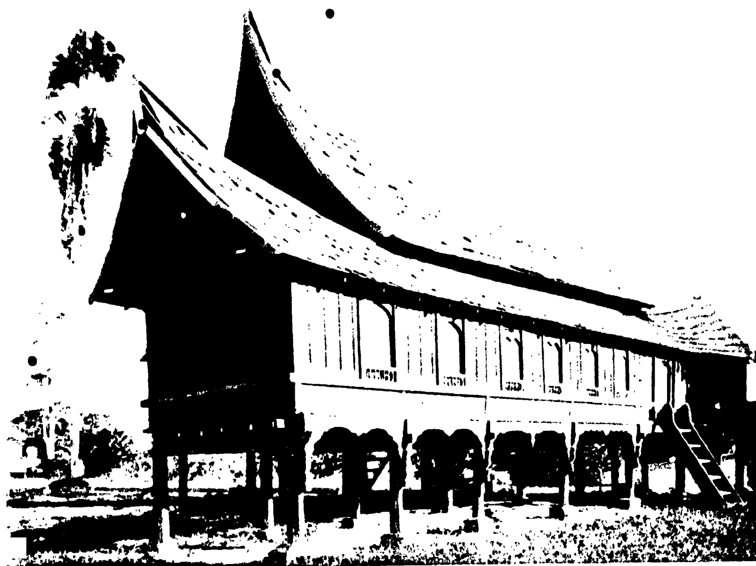
LIFE IN AN EARLY EASTERN SETTLEMENT

Occupation of Bencoolen by the French—Abandonment of the Settlement—Reoccupation by the British—Grant of a Charter—War with France and Holland—Capture by the British of Padang.

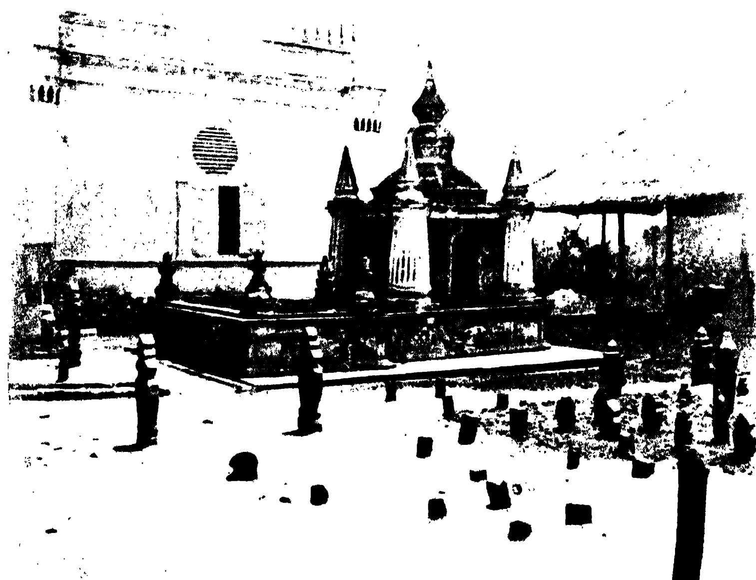
BENCOOLEN existed in a state of suspended animation during the first half of the seventeenth century. Far removed from the great centres of the East India Company's trade in India, it lived its own life in a subdued, melancholy fashion only too clearly revealed in the voluminous records of its commercial and political transactions. Occasionally a wild dash for liberty on the part of a miserable body of slaves, a daring piratical act of a degraded official tired of playing propriety in such an abode of dulness, or a smallpox epidemic introduced with a consignment of slaves which swept like a devastating tornado through the country, carrying off hundreds of victims, would cause a temporary thrill of excitement. But in the main the expatriated Britons were left exclusively to find in their petty quarrels and the mild distractions of cock-fighting and less elegant vices relief from the depressing monotony of their isolated home on the inhospitable West Sumatran Coast. The first genuine sensation on a large scale which the Settlement had was when news filtered through to the Middle East of the French attack on Madras in 1759. Fort St. George had

long been the station to which the officials at Fort Marlborough had looked as the seat of authority, and the information received that Lally and his men were pressing it sorely carried consternation into every heart. The alarm took a deeper tinge when it was known that a strong French squadron under D'Estaing was cruising off the Sumatran Coast. Hurriedly counsels were taken as to the best means by which the apparently inevitable extension of the hostilities to Bencoolen might be met. A plan of defence had some time previously been evolved in which armed slaves were utilised to eke out the slender force of European soldiers and sepoys constituting the garrison.[1] But further examination showed that with the utmost use of available material there was no prospect of effectually opposing the landing of so powerful an enemy. The resolution was then arrived at to retire to a place in the interior and to send the treasure to Batavia. Before the latter operation could be carried out fully the French squadron appeared off the port. Piloted by a renegade Britisher—a dismissed servant of the Company—the ships, on April 1, 1760, boldly entered the roadstead and dropped anchor under the very walls of the fort. With as little delay as possible, preparations were made for the withdrawal to the interior, but the treacherous conduct of

[1] The plan which was prepared by Captain Edward Frith is of special interest from the fact that it embodies what must be one of the earliest proposals for the use of grape ammunition. Captain Frith wrote: "In lieu of shells which in sandy ground do little or no execution I would substitute a bag of six pounds weight of pistol or carbine balls, which at the distance of 100 yards will do great execution." Another suggestion of an interesting character is contained in the following: "I have now by me between three and four hundred tin cartridges and was that number to be augmented to one thousand they would be of excellent service in a close engagement by reason we would be able to give the enemy three fires for one as no ramrods are required in loading tin cartridges."



MALAY HOUSE, NEGRI SEMBILAN.



MALAY TOMBS, JUGRA, SELANGOR.

To face p. 44.

the local Malays, who bodily went over to the French, made the position hopeless from the first. The authorities, therefore, decided to surrender. Terms were arranged, and on April 3 the French landing force took possession of the Settlement. It was a brief and somewhat inglorious occupation. Disease appeared amongst the Frenchmen, and worked such frightful havoc in their ranks that after the lapse of a few months D'Estaing was glad to re-embark the remnants of his force and allow the Settlement to revert to the British. An expedition under the command of Captain Vincent, sent in 1761 to restore British authority, found the place a veritable charnel-house owing to the half-buried remains of the invaders which were poisoning the air in every direction. The terrible conditions caused excessive sickness amongst the occupying force. Of 183 men landed there were, four months later, only 57 effectives. The mortality amongst the civil population was quite as great. Of the eight factors who accompanied Captain Vincent, four died and two were invalided. The entire official energies for a time were paralysed by the pestilential conditions, and it began to be questioned whether the Company after all had done well to resume its ownership of a spot possessing such calamitous associations.

After some hesitation the Supreme Government in India decided to make Bencoolen a first-class station. They were influenced in their decision by the increasing pressure of foreign rivalry in which the old hostility of the Dutch was uppermost. It was realised that if the East India Company was to trade at all out of India a Settlement in the Middle East was indispensable. Later on, as we shall see, the conclusion was reached that Bencoolen had not the requisite qualities for a post such as that in view; but at the time all that seemed necessary for the protec-

tion of the Company's interests was the establishment of a Government on first-class lines. The new arrangements were conceived in this spirit. Just before D'Estaing had descended upon the station, a Charter had been prepared setting up a Mayor's Court and otherwise providing for the judicial administration of the Settlement. This document was now ratified and sent out for the service of the new administration. The machinery supplied was perfect of its kind, but the directors at home had reckoned without one thing—the paucity of inhabitants. When the Settlement was reoccupied it was found to be a complete wreck. The fortifications were destroyed, the Government buildings were more or less in ruins, and the native quarters were a desert. Trade, of course, in these circumstances was practically non-existent. Few resorted to the Settlement because there was nothing to attract them thither. At the outset, therefore, the population was almost exclusively confined to the small knot of officials, and the attendant military, who constituted the Company's establishment. In the face of such a situation, it was found impossible to utilise the Charter, and it remained a dead-letter for a good many years. In fact, it was never enforced in its original form, modifications having been rendered necessary in it in several particulars in consequence of the change of status of Bencoolen from a Presidency to a Residency in 1785.

The Settlement, which had always been a drain upon the Company's resources, now became a more onerous burden. To the legitimate charges were added the defalcations of a class of officials who appear to have deliberately practised dishonesty as a local habit. Scarcely a year passed without some gross scandal being brought to light. The Court exercised its punitive powers with persistent rigour; but all in vain. Stores disappeared, accounts were

falsified, and illicit gains were made by all sorts of devices, one of the most audacious of which was keeping in circulation currency notes which in the books figured as cancelled paper. It is no wonder that with such an administration the loss on the station in the five years from May, 1778, to April, 1783, reached the large total of £37,589. The directors strove manfully to reduce the charge by encouraging new enterprises. An arrack and sugar factory was established, and a series of botanical experiments was made with a view of determining the suitability of the climate for the cultivation of various kinds of agricultural products. In a moment of inspiration, the Leadenhall Street directorate sent out a contingent of German emigrants on the supposition that they might create the nucleus of a flourishing colony. While most of the enterprises reached an unsatisfactory termination, the Teutonic colony was distinguished by a specially disastrous career. As might have been supposed, the full-blooded German men and women, brought direct from the Fatherland, fell easy victims to the climate. Those who survived became a prey to melancholia, stranded as they were in the swampy coast region where the sugar plantations were situated. In the course of a few years the colony faded completely out of existence, leaving behind it only the memory of what must have been one of the very earliest German communities planted in the tropics.

One episode which disturbed the even tenor of Bencoolen life in the period following the reoccupation was the outbreak of war with the Dutch and the French in 1780. John Marsden, a relative of the historian, then resident at the substation of Natal, forwarded news early in the year of the presence of a French squadron at Acheen. Almost simultaneously came up the coast the information that a French privateer was at Batavia. The intelligence

excited profound alarm, as practically nothing had been done to restore the destroyed fortifications, and the station was at the mercy of any chance raider who might put into the roads. The place remained in a condition of excitement and apprehension for a considerable period, and fears were not allayed by the imperious orders which came through from Warren Hastings at Calcutta directing the despatch thither of a considerable part of the European garrison. With mingled feelings the Bencoolen executive responded to the order, but they were left in a painfully nervous condition by the process. On July 29, 1781, owing to unfavourable reports which had arrived, orders were given for the embarkation of the ladies and the treasure on the ships in the roadstead, and in addition all possible preparations were made for a last stand by the available force ashore. Before the plans could be executed the whole situation was changed by the appearance on the scene of five East Indiamen from China, all well-armed and excellently manned vessels. The Governor and Council now decided to carry the war into the enemy's country. They gave orders to the commanders of the ships to proceed southwards and capture or destroy all the Dutch settlements along the coast. The squadron, in execution of the design, early in August, 1781, occupied Pulo Chenco, and a few days later captured Padang, making prisoners of the Dutch officials and garrison. These places were held until the conclusion of the war, when they reverted to Holland.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW SETTLEMENT

An abortive quest—Francis Light's scheme for a Settlement in Kedah —Mission despatched from Madras to Kedah and Acheen—Its failure—Light retires to Junk Ceylon.

LONG before the hopelessness of Bencoolen as a centre from which to direct the affairs of the East India Company in the Middle East had been demonstrated by years of painful experience of its inherent defects, the Court of Directors had come to the conclusion that some more conveniently placed position must be found if British interests were to hold their own in that quarter. The need was the greater because of the trend of events in the East. The whole outlook had been changed by Clive's memorable victory at Plassy. From a mere trading body the Company had advanced by rapid stages to the position of a great ruling power with all the responsibilities attaching to such a *rôle*. What had answered for the modest needs of commerce was quite inadequate for the claims of a wide-reaching diplomacy, based on the precarious foundation of settlements in India, isolated from each other and ill-adapted at the best of times for sustained defence against an active and well-equipped enemy. The strategical position was profoundly influenced by the meteorological conditions prevailing on the Coromandel Coast, where the main force of the Company in India was centred. From October to January the North-east mon-

soon prevails along the coast, and in the days of sailing ships it was imperative that vessels should retire in order to avoid being detained there by stress of weather. During these three months the Company's principal stations were open to the attack of an invading force from Europe or from the Eastward before any assistance could be furnished by a protecting fleet, however strong. A situation of this kind actually arose in 1758, when, in the absence of the British admiral with his fleet, at Bombay, Lally was able to lay siege to Madras. The perils to which the Company's interests were then subjected burnt into the mind of the Court of Directors the absolute need for some station to the Eastward to which a fleet could retire during the monsoon, and yet be within striking distance of Madras and Calcutta in case of sudden need. Accordingly instructions were given to the Company's servants, and more particularly to those engaged in the Eastward trade, to look about for an eligible spot on which to establish a new head-quarter establishment in the Middle East.

As early as 1763 we find references in the records to the quest which was set afoot in the circumstances described. Writing to the directors at home, the Governor and Council of Bencoolen observed: "We have not yet taken into consideration that important object of pitching upon a proper place for the establishing a head settlement on this coast. . . . In your letter by the *Valentine* you were pleased to point out Tappanooley or some spot in Keyser's Bay as eligible places for that purpose. With respect to the former there are many insuperable obstacles against it, the principal of which are that it will be so far from the pepper settlements, the material object of our views on this coast, as not to afford them the support they require and it is also situated on a part of the island less convenient for the resort of praws from the Eastward than even Marl-

borough. The only advantage it enjoys is in having a fine and capacious harbour: and with regard to a place in Keyser's Bay we can now presume to give it to your Honours as our opinion that a settlement there would answer every purpose you required, it lying extremely convenient for the succour and support of your China ships by which means we apprehend no difficulty would occur in procuring a sufficient number of those people, the Chinese, as every ship on her return would be able to bring a few without any extraordinary expense." The despatch went on to say that the only objection was the opposition of the Dutch, who had long claimed these parts as belonging to the Sultan of Bantam. But, the writers added, they could successfully controvert this claim.

Ultimately, the Court of Directors sent out from England Captain Jolley, an engineer officer, to advise the authorities at Bencoolen on the question of a future Settlement. In the accompanying despatch we catch a glimpse of Captain Jolley's operations :—

"FORT MARLBOROUGH, *April* 19, 1765.

"We advised you in our letter of the 13th August of Engineer Jolley's having surveyed Poolo Bay, Sillebar River and the plains contiguous to them. His report thereof is entered upon our Consultations, but the plan which he mentions to have accompanied it he forgot to leave behind him when he embarked for Fort St. George. By the observations he made it appears by no means an eligible place, the situation being such as would render it were it possible to be done of excessive expense. It was, therefore, our unanimous opinion if no proper place could be found in or near the Streights of Sunda, that we had no other resource but to remain here."

Much the same conclusion as that contained in the

concluding sentence had already been reached by the Court of Directors, and before long an order was received at Bencoolen directing that the capital Settlement should continue at that place. Though the directions were accepted and acted upon, the search for a new centre for the establishment of the Company's power continued, as is clear from this communication :—

"FORT MARLBOROUGH, *April* 19, 1766.

"By a reference to our Consultations and to the letter addressed to Mr. Nairne and the Supra Cargos of the *Royal George* your honours will observe that we had desired that gentleman to be very particular in his survey of the Island of Poolo Pesang and to give us his important opinion of the situation of that place should we hereafter come to any resolution of changing the present head Settlement. By a private letter addressed by that gentleman to the President he has acquainted him that its situation is such that it might be rendered at a small expense almost impregnable even to any European power and that the only objection is its small extent."

The letter referred to from Robert Nairne and his brother supercargoes is included in the records. It supplies some quaint details of the aspects of the Straits of Bali as seen by them. Describing the inhabitants of Bali and Lombok, the writers stated: "Their religion is Pagan: that and their origin seem to be derived from the Gentoos of Indoostan, who might have practised the navigation of these seas before it was known to the Mahometans. Their god is called Dewa Rattoo and their worship consists principally in invoking his name and offering victuals to him at little sheds made amongst bushes under Braminy Trees where are sometimes small figures of a cow made of earthenware and stone images so much resembling those

of the Coromandel Coast that there is reason to think they have been formerly brought from thence or from Ceylone. They do not bury but burn their dead and their wives are usually burnt alive voluntarily with the dead husband. They abstain from no sort of food but the flesh of cows and bullocks."

Pulo Pesang had been temporarily occupied by the English on their expulsion from Bantam by the Dutch early in the seventeenth century; but it was too clearly within what had now become the Dutch sphere of influence to be available for a further occupation. When at length it was perceived that there was no satisfactory opening to the southward in the vicinity of the Straits of Sunda, attention was turned to the possibility of a foothold being found in the Straits of Malacca. It is somewhat amusing to find, having regard to the sequel, how emphatically the Bencoolen Government scouted the idea of founding a station in this region. Writing on January 17, 1770, they said: "Whatever advantages may be derived from a settlement on the East side of the Island it must be so remote from here by the length and difficulty of the navigation to be an improper situation for a head settlement on this coast. Jamby, which is opposite to Moco Moco, our most Northern pepper settlement, and all to the Southward of Jamby, on the East side the Dutch are in possession of. In the interior parts the mountains are rugged and hitherto no European has passed across the island."

The Court of Directors had its own views about the possibility of establishing a useful centre on the East Coast and in 1771 sent instructions to the Government at Madras to despatch a mission to the Court of Acheen with a view of obtaining permission from the Sultan to establish a factory in his territory. The Governor in Council, as a preliminary

to acting on these directions, caused inquiries to be made of a firm of merchants in Madras carrying on business with Acheen and the Straits of Malacca as to the prospects that offered in that direction. In due course, the Government at Madras had placed in their hands some correspondence from the Company's agent in Malaya, which gave a completely new turn to the question. That agent was none other than Francis Light, the founder of Penang, and the proposal he forwarded, as will be gathered from the extracts from the correspondence which we shall presently give, contained the germ of the existing British domination in the Malay Peninsula.

Francis Light was one of the most remarkable men who have gone to make up the illustrious list of Empire-builders. His title to fame has been obscured by the more brilliant qualities and achievements of Sir Stamford Raffles, and it is perhaps for this reason that his memory has been so obscured that no account of him appears in the Dictionary of National Biography. Some day, it may be trusted, the omission will be repaired. Meanwhile, as a preface to the narrative of Light's great work, we may appropriately set forth a few of the leading circumstances in his life as they are known to-day. Light was born in 1740 at Dallinghoo, near the town of Melton, in Suffolk. His parentage is obscure, but he seems to have been adopted in infancy by William Negus, a relative of Milton and a son of Colonel Francis Negus, a Court official of the reign of George I. Negus was an extensive landowner in Suffolk, and Light enjoyed the usual educational advantages of the well-to-do youth of the locality at Seckford's Grammar School at Woodbridge, a fine old foundation which to-day has a respectable place amongst the public schools of England. On leaving school, which he did at an early age, Light entered the Navy and remained in the service until

1765, when he resigned his commission to seek his fortune in India, after the fashion of many other of the well-born youth of the day. At Calcutta he was given the command of a country ship which traded between the Indian ports and Siam and Malaya. In this capacity he speedily showed that versatility and resourcefulness which in the more responsible period of his later life were so conspicuous. Before he had been long in the East he could speak fluently both the Siamese and Malay languages, and had established himself in a position of considerable influence amongst the leading chiefs in the Straits. A man of imagination and patriotism, he speedily saw what splendid possibilities there were for his country in this region if only the authorities were sufficiently enterprising to grasp the opportunity. It was in 1771 that Light first put into definite form any proposal for British intervention in the Straits. Most writers on Malaya have been content to treat this proposal as merely a chance suggestion which was shelved until a more convenient day for its exploitation. But, as the sequel will show, his ideas were taken up very seriously by the Government, and it was only owing to undue timidity on the part of the Madras executive that the occupation of Penang was not ante-dated fifteen years. The persistent omission of this most interesting chapter in the history of Malaya is easily to be accounted for by the fact that the papers relating to it are embedded in a mass of Sumatran records and that the actual records of Penang make no reference whatever to the episode.[1]

Light's employers were the firm of Jourdan, Sulivan, and De Souza, of Madras. For a number of years this firm,

[1] The papers are contained in Vol. 15 "Sumatra Records" in "The Diary and Proceedings of the Select Committee of Fort St. George in consequence of the orders of the Select Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors, dated 8th May, 1771, for forming a settlement at Acheen, &c."

acting for a large combination of Madras merchants, had traded with Acheen and Kedah. They had maintained since the year 1763 at Acheen a permanent trading establishment under a representative named Harrop. Light seems to have filled a like position in Kedah, though, as far as can be judged from the material available, his establishment was secondary to that in Acheen. On the receipt of the inquiries from the Government, Jourdan, Sulivan, and De Souza sent on the following letter they had received from Light:—

"QUEDA, *Aug.* 18, 1771.

"*To* MESSRS. JOURDAN, SULIVAN, AND DE SOUZA.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have the pleasure to inform you that the King of Queda has granted to you the Qualla or seaport of Queda with a fort lying near it to be kept by you, in consideration that you will promise to assist him against the people of Salengore. The force it will be necessary to maintain for this service and the expenses of the Factory, the King proposes should be equally divided between you and him and that the trade be carried on on your joint account.

"I must beg leave to acquaint you gentlemen that if you do not take advantage of this offer it will be given to the Dutch, and I refer to your consideration whether the Dutch possessing this port may not exclude the English entirely from trading in the Streights.

"The harbour of Queda has four fathoms water and no bar and may be improved to great advantage to the Company in case of a war. In December I will send you a plan of it and inform you of every other particular which the hurry of business now prevents my laying before you.

"I am, &c."



THE SULTAN OF KEDAH.

To face p. 56.

In a further letter of the date November 25, 1771, Light elaborated his proposal. He wrote:—

"I have had no opportunity of writing since my letter of the 18th August till the present. I now send you a letter from the King, in which he requests you will inform him as soon as possible if the engagement he proposed is acceptable. He has granted not only the Qualla of Queda but the whole coast from this place to Pulo Pinang, and only waits your answer to deliver the whole country into your hands.

"I now reside in the old fort and have built a redout to prevent any surprise, and if approved of by you will build a new brick one. This fort commands the entrance into the river, so that not a canoe can pass without being seen. All prows are obliged to stop here and deliver their goods. The King is the only merchant, and without his license no one can buy. This power he has given entirely to me on your account. A stock of 15,000 Sp. Dollars, part specie, part in goods, will be necessary to be kept always in hand for this trade.

"Should you approve gentlemen of this offer I must request immediate assistance of sepoys and stores.

"Every kind of piece goods from the coast, Bengall and Surat is vendible here, but the article of greatest advantage is ophium, which I now sell wholesale and retail at 800 Sp. Dollars the chest and shall be able to dispose of any quantity you may think proper to send on the same terms.

"There are here now two Danish vessels from Tranquebar with 40 sepoys and guns, ammunition, and other military stores. They have brought a letter and present from their Governor to the King desiring a factory and offering to send 300 sepoys more and to assist him in recovering the ships and guns carried away by the Salen-

gorians. The King told them he had given the fort, Qualla and whole coast to the English and without their consent could not admit of any other Europeans. They have made great presents to all the principal people about the King, who on this account forward their schemes with all their influence; but the King is too sensible a man and too well acquainted with the character of the English to hesitate whom to choose for his friends."

In a private letter to Mr. Jourdan of the same date Light wrote:—

"I have been here ever since my last and have kept my ground notwithstanding the opposition of the Chooliars,[1] Danes, and Dutch. The former seem resolved if possible to exclude the English from any connexion in the places to which they trade and would suffer themselves to [be] plundered a second time by the Buggese rather than you should have a settlement here. They are well acquainted with the profits of this place and the advantage it would be of to you in particular to have it joined to the Acheen settlement. There is more pepper and betel nut brought to this coast from the Coast of Pedir than is carried to Acheen, and with that article, tin and dammar, I will engage to load any two of your vessels from this port by the 1st January, and I will send wax, timber, and rattan as the demand may be. There is one kind of timber here proper for housebuilding which the worms cannot touch. There is likewise blackwood and many other kinds that I cannot at present describe."

To Mr. De Souza, another of the partners, Light also unburdened himself, urging the importance of closing

[1] Indians.

with the offer. His letter to this gentleman was as follows:—

"I have ventured so far upon the credit of our employers that I am afraid to go any further without proper authority. Considering this port as a mart for the Streights I thought that no person could blame me for accepting it upon terms more advantageous than Acheen. The King is very anxious to know your resolutions and I am no less so not only on account of the disgrace which must accrue in case they refuse but the detriment which our trade in general will suffer in case this place falls into the hands of any other. Should the Dutch have it they would possess the entire command of the whole Streights, for on the coast of Queda is a river capable of receiving their largest ships at the half flood defended from all weather by Poolo Pinang, and within side of Poolo Pinang is a fine clear channel of 7 and 14 fathoms, through which a ship may work any time. I remember it was once your opinion that a house upon Poolo Pinang would be very useful. It would be extremely so because the Europe ships can easily stop there. There is plenty of wood, water and provisions; there they may be supplied with tin, pepper, betel nut, Rattans, Birds' nests; and the Macao ships will be glad to stop there, and all other vessels passing through the Streights may be as easily supplied as at Malacca. Whether this would not suit the Company better than our association unless they will act with more spirit I will leave you to judge. This I can assure you, that if you will but send sepoys and a few Europeans with leave to assist the King against Salengore, I will engage not a slab of tin, a grain of pepper, Betel nut, or Dammar shall go out of my hands but for your service. If the gentlemen think it venturing too far to assist the King of Queda let it be

done in the Nabob's name to recover the property of his subjects. Had I authority to act neither Danes, Dutch, French or any one else should drive me out. Nothing is to be feared from the Malayas while this King lives. He is too clever to be fed with idle notions. He knows the English are capable of assisting him not only against Salengore but Siam. Of that and Patany hereafter: I only beg of you not to let this noble opportunity to slip of getting footing upon this coast. Consider the expense you have been at for Acheen, and the loss of it would be to break up that factory immediately. This useful lesson I have learnt, that no contracts, no promise, no behaviour however civil and complaisant will bind the Malays to your interest—nothing but force. When they are afraid they are true, but not else. Therefore, be assured that neither at Acheen or here or any other port to East you will ever be able to make a settlement unless you act with spirit and authority. All these troubles would have ended in Acheen could Harrop but have made a proper use of the force he had. If the gentlemen think Acheen worth preserving let them request of the Governor and Council a license to keep an agent there with authority to defend your property against any persons whatever and to maintain a sufficient force for the protection of it and their persons, though such a license, would in fact give him no greater power than he had and every one enjoys that is subject to Britain, yet the name of it would awe the Malays, keep his people in obedience and save both him and you great trouble.

"If the Nabob could be prevailed on to keep a Court at Acheen and appoint Harrop it would give him an authority over the Chooliars and enable him to send any troublesome person away from thence. The Acheenees are sensible that their whole trade depends upon the coast

vessels, and if Harrop is once empowered with any authority from the Nabob, they will not dare to attempt anything against his person. If you think an elephant sent to the Nabob as a present from the Association would be acceptable I will send you one without any great expense, and if you intend to keep this place I will prevail upon the King to write to the Nabob and send him a present desiring his assistance should the gentlemen think it necessary.

"I leave it to you to push on these matters with the concerned, and to lay before them the advantage of this port and the disadvantages should any other Europeans possess it, and if they approve of it to send me an assistant and goods and ophium as much as you can spare.

"I must once more repeat to you that I want nothing here but force. The King is ready to grant me anything I desire."

It is clear from this correspondence that Light's proposal was directed not to the Government but to the association of traders in Madras of which he was the agent. From internal evidence, it seems probable that the letters were penned by Light on his own initiative, and not as a consequence of any inquiries sent to him from his superiors. At the same time, he doubtless was aware in a general way of the determination of the Government in India to establish a new headquarter establishment in or about the Straits. The Sultan of Kedah's offer arose not out of the East India Company's necessities but of his own. For a considerable period there had been trouble in his State due to a disagreement amongst the members of his family. One faction at length went into rebellion and was banished to Selangor, where they were given asylum by the local Sultan, who had long been at enmity with his

brother of Kedah. Early in 1771, instigated thereto by the exiled rebels, the Sultan of Selangor made a raid on Kedah, sacking its capital and laying waste the territory. The attack, as it was calculated to do, deeply incensed the Kedah chief, but his own resources were altogether too limited to enable him to seek his revenge. In the extremity, he naturally turned for aid to the European interest represented by Light and his associates.

Before approaching Light with a more or less definite proposal, the Sultan had written to Madras invoking the aid of the Company against his enemies, and had received in reply a non-committal letter in which the Government covered their disinclination to act under profuse expressions of friendship. It was probably the disappointment excited by the failure of his direct communication that prompted the Prince to make his offer to Light. Whether so or not, it put quite a different complexion on the whole business. The Madras authorities, who had hitherto not been greatly impressed with the possibilities of Kedah, now decided to turn their attention thither as well as to Acheen. To this end, they made the projected mission a dual one, appointing the Hon. Edward Monckton to undertake the Kedah branch of it and another official named Des Voeux to proceed to Acheen. Monckton was directed to offer the Sultan the following terms: "That in consideration of the support the Company proposed to give he should grant them in full the sea or port customs of Queda as a fund for repaying the military expenses they might be put to on his account. The Company requiring no part in his retail trade, the half of which they understood he offered to Mr. Light's employers for this purpose, that he likewise granted to them so much ground as might be necessary for the building of a fort and the conveniences for such agents as they might send there, and that he entered

into a contract to take from them every year certain quantities of articles enumerated at fixed prices, and to give them in return tin, wax, pepper, and elephants' teeth, or other staple articles for the China market."

If Monckton could not obtain a grant of the port duties in full, which the Company hardly apprehended, he was instructed at least to insist that the collection of the duties should be left to the Company, who would account to the Sultan for them after defraying the amount of the military expenses.

It was stated that the Government had taken measures for establishing a factory at Acheen upon the like plan and for the like purpose, and that Des Voeux was charged with that part of the mission. It was desired that these Settlements should be mutually assisting to each other The instructions continued :—

"We are not desirous of an extensive territorial possession. As the great object is trade and barter such a district round the factory as may be necessary for its safety and convenience might suffice, but as we observe by the extracts of Mr. Light's letters herewith delivered to you that the Rajah has offered a grant of the port of Queda with all the country as far as Poolo Pinang, we do not at present see any inconvenience from accepting the whole if the Rajah should continue in the same favourable disposition, and if at any time hereafter it should be found rather an embarrassment than a convenience it may be relinquished."

In due course the mission reached Kedah ; but it soon became apparent that there was a hitch somewhere. The Sultan was not at all anxious to get to close quarters with the negotiators, and when at length Monckton did obtain an interview he found the old man a very difficult subject

to handle. His main anxiety was to know when he would have assistance against his enemies in Selangor. On his discovering that he could look for no aid of this character, he politely informed Monckton that he might remain at the Kuala, but that he could not think of making any grant unless he had assistance. Monckton replied that on his part he could not think of staying unless the Company got an immediate grant. The Sultan retorted that Monckton was "right in obeying orders, but that he also must obey, for that the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom." Monckton hung on for some time in the hope of being able to influence the Sultan, and at one time there seemed a possibility that he might be induced to yield. He actually obtained from the Prince a qualified grant of territory, but as soon as the Madras authorities learned that there was to be no swerving from the condition attached, making it obligatory upon the Company to assist the Sultan against his enemies, they emphatically vetoed the proposal. Thus, in the end, the fates proved too much for the negotiator. While at Kedah, Monckton sent to India a long despatch sketching the condition of the Malay Peninsula at that period. In one passage he dwelt in an interesting way upon the weakness for arms which characterised the Malay chiefs. "The King of Quedah and all the Malay kings," he said, "have got guns enough to drive all the Europeans out of India if they knew how to make use of them, and yet they want more. There is nothing to be dreaded from giving them more, as they have already got so many. I, therefore, would humbly beg leave to recommend that the Company supply the King with as many guns as he may want. He will always give 100 per cent., and if we do not supply him the Danes will always find favour here." Writing later on the same subject, Monckton said, "At

Purlis there are at least 100 guns laying about half buried in the mud, and yet the King is always wanting more. I hope the Company will supply him without scruple, for if they do not the Danes will, as they all along have done, getting 2/3 of the weight of the guns in tin. Formerly it was full weight."

Baffled and disappointed at the turn events had taken, Light, who had played an important subsidiary part in the negotiations, retired to Junk Ceylon, which island he made his place of residence. Monckton, meanwhile, went on a trip to Rhio and Trengganu, with the object of seeing what openings there were in those directions. At the latter place he found the Sultan willing to permit of Settlements, but it was only on the understanding that help should be given him to recover territories which had been filched from him by his neighbour of Johore. As Monckton could not do business on these terms, he returned to India, after picking up the Acheen mission, which had also proved abortive. The narrative of his journeyings is chiefly interesting from a glimpse it gives of Light in his new home. "Mr. Light," he wrote, "last May went to settle at Junk Ceylon as a private merchant, and was well received by the Governor and principal inhabitants of the island. Mr. Light got a letter conveyed to the *Tancaville* (which went there to get tin) to inform me that the King of Siam had lately sent a man over to depose the old Governor and all the principal people of the place, and that the people of the island had sided with the old Governor and that they were at that time shut up in a small compound and that he was with them without arms and ammunition. They were surrounded by one or two thousand Siamese and would very shortly fall a sacrifice to them unless they got assistance from me." He added: "All the head people of the island were willing to give

the Honourable Company any terms they might ask for their protection. But as I dare not think of embarking on such an enterprise without your Honours' permission I have ordered Captain Wedderburn to touch there and make signals by firing of guns to try if he can bring off Mr. Light."

With this picture of Light beleaguered in Junk Ceylon, the narrative, as far as it concerns Kedah, practically closes. But it remained for the Madras executive to pass judgment upon the whole transaction. They did so in a paragraph which is a monument of official superciliousness. "It appears," they wrote, "that the place [Kedah] has been much misrepresented to us, though under the King's protection we might have reaped advantage from our factory there, for Quedah is certainly a port of considerable trade. The facts show how little dependence is to be placed on the representations of persons whose characters are not well known and tried. The persons employed by the concerned in that trade have as it now appears misled them by specious representations in order to continue themselves in an imploy lucrative in all probability to themselves though ruinous to their employers." Poor Light! He deserved better than this of the Indian Government. If the very superior officials of Madras had shown a little more courage he might have won for them as well as for himself undying fame. As it was, his title to posterity's remembrance was postponed, while theirs was obliterated.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATION OF PENANG

Light at Junk Ceylon—His marriage—Light proposes the occupation of Junk Ceylon to Warren Hastings—War interrupts the promotion of the scheme—Captain Forrest's mission to Rhio—Light obtains a grant of the island of Penang from the Sultan of Kedah—He is appointed to conduct an expedition for the occupation of the island—Hoisting of the British flag—Early days of the Settlement.

AFTER the failure of the Monckton mission to Kedah, the question of a new headquarter station slumbered for some years. The times were not propitious for new adventures involving an immediate outlay of considerable amount, and a heavy prospective expenditure of a more or less permanent description. It was the critical stage of Warren Hastings's administration in India, when the great man was wrestling with the problem of how best to adapt the machinery of a trading organisation to the task of ruling a great Empire. In 1772 he had issued his famous proclamation that the Company had determined to "stand forth publicly in the character of Dewan"—or ruler of Bengal—and the measures necessary to give effect to that epoch-making declaration occupied his time to the exclusion of every other question. So for a period no more was heard of the design of planting an outpost in the Straits of Malacca, which would be at once a place of refuge for British ships and an *entrepôt* for British commerce.

Light in this quiet interval prosecuted his operations as

a trader in the Malayan countries. In his headquarters at Junk Ceylon he appears to have found favour with both the Malays and the Siamese, by whom the island was in turn ruled. Very soon after taking up his residence at Junk Ceylon, in 1771, he married Martina Rozells, and by her had several children, the most famous of whom was Colonel William Light, the first Surveyor-General of Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. A romantic story which long had currency represented Mrs. Light to be a daughter of the Sultan of Kedah, and to lend an air of verisimilitude to the narrative it was averred that the island of Penang had been given to Light as a dower with his bride. But after what has been related in the previous chapter it is scarcely necessary to say that the story is quite apocryphal. Mrs. Light may have had Malayan blood in her veins, but it was probably mingled with that of a Portuguese ancestor. In all likelihood she came of a family not at all of an exalted station in life.

Though Light had thus given hostages to fortune, he never lost sight of the dominating aim of his early career to establish British influence on an unassailable basis in Malaya. In a quiet way, he smoothed the path for what he believed to be the inevitable destiny of the region by cultivating good relations with all leading personages in the Straits, and earning for the British name a reputation for straightforward, honourable dealing. Meanwhile, in England the question was not entirely overlooked. In February, 1778, the Hon. Lawrence Sulivan submitted to the Court of Directors a project for Settlements at Acheen and the Nicobar Islands.[1] Both these territories,

[1] "Political reflections respecting the present situation of the different governments upon the Coromandel Coast and of the powers contiguous, stating also the measures which seem proper to be adopted whenever we make peace with France with the outlines of a plan for an establishment at Acheen" ("Sumatra Records," vol. 30).

he maintained, should have been long since in British hands, "not merely for the purpose of excluding the French (though that is a capital object) but from the expectation of very valuable commercial acquisitions and shipping conveniences." "In possession of Acheen," he said, "we are masters of a great part of the navigation of the Streights of Malacca and it may be made the occasional resort of the King's ships." The writer of the memorandum was probably one of the members of the Madras firm of which Light was the agent in 1771. It is, therefore, quite conceivable that the founder of Penang had some knowledge at the time of the proposal, either from Sulivan himself or from others. Whether so or not, he was prompted when in Calcutta in 1780 on one of his trading voyages to seek an interview with Warren Hastings, and to lay before him a scheme for the occupation of Junk Ceylon, a measure which his great local influence enabled him to put forward with an assurance of success. Knowing the state of the Company's finances, Light proposed that the costs of the occupation should be defrayed by public subscription. Hastings approved in principle of the project, but before the vessels and troops could be got ready a war with France became certain, and as the Government at that juncture could afford no supplies and the merchants were unwilling to risk their property on the sea on the eve of a war, the scheme was for the time abandoned. Light himself states that the motive which influenced the Government at this period in supporting his plans was the desire to curb the aggressive policy of the Dutch. The conviction then entertained that the design of the Hollanders was to exclude the British entirely from any share in the Eastern commerce was sustained by letters which Light had seen from the Dutch Government to the Sultans of Rhio and Selangor

absolutely prohibiting those princes from having any transactions with the British.

Hastings kept in his mind the facts which Light had conveyed to him as to the exclusive policy of the Dutch, and as soon as his hands were set free in 1784 he despatched Captain Forrest on a mission to establish a British Settlement at Rhio. The expedition came to nothing, for the simple reason that the Dutch, getting information of it, adopted their old plan of forestalling the proposed action. Light, with a quick perception of what the occasion demanded, now decided to make a bold dash for Penang lest here also the veto of the Dutch should be imposed. He laid his plans so well that he eventually secured the coveted grant of the island from the Sultan of Kedah. This Prince was not the one with whom Light and Monckton had negotiated in 1771, but his son, the offspring of a slave whom he had adopted for the succession, much to the disgust of the old Sultan's brothers, who looked upon him as a usurper. As soon as Light had carried the transaction through he proceeded to Calcutta to lay before the Government a definite proposal for the occupation both of Penang and Junk Ceylon. His views found expression in a letter dated February 5, 1786, in which he reviewed the course of the negotiations associated with the projected Settlement in the Straits, though strangely enough he seems to have omitted any direct reference to Monckton's abortive mission. In the course of his remarks, he laid great stress upon the necessity of combating Dutch pretensions. "The Dutch now," he wrote, "possess all the Straits of Malacca from Point Romania to the River Krean in latitude 5 N. on the Malay side, and they have forts, factories, and pretended claims from Bintang or Rhio to Diamond Point on the Sumatra Coast so that there is no part left for you to choose



Lambert & Co.] *[Singapo*

THE SULTAN OF TRENGGANU.

but the small kingdoms of Junk Ceylon, Acheen or Quedah."

Light's representations as to the desirability of action were strongly supported by his friend James Scott, with whom in after-years he was intimately associated in the trade of Penang. A bluff old sailor, with a fine contempt for official red tape, Scott expressed himself in his communications with amusing frankness. "You may perhaps ask," he wrote on October 28, 1785, "who this James Scott is. I will here in part anticipate the answer. He is a potsman [*sic*] struggling to pay of some encumbrances incurred during the war, formerly a trading master and owner, otherwise but little known but will be happy should his misfortunes turn out eventually of use to his country." The writer went on to recite the conditions under which Junk Ceylon had been offered. Incidentally he touched upon Monckton's mission, and related how when the old King of Kedah was introduced to the envoy he said, "Had the Company nobody to send me but a stuttering boy?" This led up to an interesting digression on the aims which should be kept in view in making territorial acquisitions. "It has," he wrote, "become too common to consider the attainment of a large quantity of the precious metals as the chief object of existence. A gentleman used to the luxuries of India and filled with the above idea will soon quarrel with a situation among woods where not a rupee is to be seen: to add to the disgust arising from the Drapery he finds a people who dare to resent an insult which he calls insolence: on this foundation they are mutually tired." Now came the gist of the whole letter: "To avoid these inconveniences," he observed in regard to Monckton's failure, "chuse a chief, cool, patient, active and penetrating: the more of public spirit the better: More a man of the world than an

Englishman; one who has studied mankind on liberal principles and who through the outer drapery that surrounds him is able to seize the proper objects for his purpose: who can see a King and consider him as such though dressed in a Lungey[1]; or a future scene of wealth and population under a jungle, as a rising settlement cannot be supposed to yield much profit." In fine, they should appoint as the man for the job, Francis Light.

No need existed of any extraneous advocacy to induce the Supreme Government to select Light to execute the mission once they had decided to send an expedition to the Straits. The Hon. John Macpherson, who filled the office of Governor-General in the period between Warren Hastings's departure and Lord Cornwallis's arrival, had been highly impressed with Light's abilities in the various interviews he had had with him, and he was quite aware of the remarkable influence he exercised in Malaya. In a communication to the Court forwarding his letter, the Governor-General described him as "a man of excellent character and good information," who had traded to the Eastward for many years and stood "in the highest esteem with the Malay, Siamese, and Pegu chiefs." The resolution accepting the Sultan of Kedah's offer stated that "in consideration of the Board's favourable opinion of Captain Francis Light, his knowledge of the Malay language, and the high esteem in which he stands with the King of Quedah and other Malay chiefs, he be vested with the charge and superintendence of the island of Penang on the part of the Company until their pleasure be known or until further orders, and that he be furnished with a proper commission as commander of the *Eliza* [the vessel detailed for the service]

[1] "Lungi, a cloth passed between the thighs. Bengali: a petticoat" (Wilson's "Glossary of Indian Terms").

and Superintendent of Penang." The Government in their instructions to Light,* which were dated a few weeks later—May 2, 1786—observed: "The success of this important undertaking depends entirely on the good conduct of the conductor, and especially during its infant state: We have a very favourable opinion of your peculiar talents for the management of the business, and, indeed, it is from the great reliance we have on your discretion, your experience in the navigation of the Eastern Seas, and knowledge of the views and dispositions and language of the Malay princes that we have been encouraged to entrust the success of the undertaking entirely to your superintendence."

The Court of Directors, when they received Light's letter of Jan. 25, 1786, referred to above, gave their immediate sanction to a scheme which seemed to them to promise so well for the purpose they had in view of interposing a barrier to the encroachments of the Hollander. In a despatch to the Supreme Government, they empowered that authority to act as circumstances should occur without waiting for orders from home. "We wish," the Court wrote, "that without embroiling ourselves with the Dutch, or giving them any well-founded jealousy of our intending to wrest from them, or rival them, in the spice trade, that every practicable method should be tried for extending our commerce among the Eastern islands, and indirectly by their means to China; we wish that every means, consistent with the strictest attention to the faith of Treaties with European Powers, should be used to conciliate the esteem and affection of the natives and to teach them to look up to the English as their friends and protectors; we wish, therefore, that every proper and judicious method should be taken of counteracting the policy of the Dutch in

enslaving the independent powers, and that every assistance should privately be given them in resisting any unjust attack upon their liberties; we would particularly point your attention to the most prudent and effectual means of giving support to the King of Salengore, as that would, from the friendly intercourse that has long subsisted between us, give credit to us in the eyes of the other Malay chiefs, and secure their confidence and esteem.

"It is unnecessary to dwell upon the bad consequences which may in case of any future war result from the Dutch being suffered to have the sole exclusive possession of such important passes as the Straits of Malacca and Sunda. Every means should be declared and open hostility on the part of your Government should be used to encourage and support the natives in resistance to any attempts to enslave them and to encourage them trading with us; how far it may be proper to intimate such intentions to the Dutch Government, or only to leave them to take effect by their own operation, must be left to your judgment.

"The great importance of the China trade, the necessity of extending by commercial means the resources of our investment from that country, as well as the good policy, by awing the Dutch to prevent a rupture with them, or in case of its taking place to be able to avail ourselves of it advantageously, to break their spice monopoly, make us look with sanguine expectations to the benefit of an establishment somewhere near the Pott's Straits, which by the judicious choice of an harbour for shelter and refreshment for our ships which may make the passage, as well as for promoting the most important operations in case of future war, will effectually answer these purposes."

Thus this important step which was to give the British for the first time a firm foothold in Malaya was entered upon with a chorus of official goodwill. Nor was the benediction of Light's intimate, Scott, wanting to give *éclat* to the occasion. In a letter to the Supreme Government, the old sailor congratulated the authorities "on having in contradiction to prescription and prejudice entrusted the carrying your design into execution to a man of local knowledge and an enlarged experience." "His honour and name," proceeded Light's admirer, "is now engaged. Let, therefore, no alteration, however convenient, deprive him, at least during its infancy, of the sole directing power while the world and you hold him responsible for its success. A contrary behaviour will damp his ardour and render him indifferent to the success of measures he does not continue to direct."

Before we proceed to describe the manner in which Light executed his trust, it is desirable to indicate the character of the engagement, which by the resolution of the Supreme Government had been entered upon. In the first place, it should be noted that it concerned Kedah exclusively. At the time the East India Company might undoubtedly have had Junk Ceylon for the asking, but they were fearful of the cost that would be involved in a double occupation, and decided to fix their attention exclusively on Penang. The Sultan of Kedah's letter making the grant of the island intimated that Light had asked him, on behalf of "the Raja of Bengal," for a Settlement, "where the Agents of the Company might reside, for the purpose of trading and building ships of war to protect the island and to cruise at sea, so that if any enemies of ours from the East or West should come to attack us the Company would regard them as enemies also and fight them, and all

the expenses of such war shall be borne by the Company." The letter went on to stipulate for freedom for ships, junks, and prahus to trade with Kedah, and for a grant of $30,000 a year as compensation for the loss of his monopoly in the articles of opium, tin, and rattans, which would follow upon the opening of Penang and the transfer of the trade thither. On the Sultan's part, it was agreed that there should be free export of all sorts of provisions and timber for shipbuilding. Following upon these clauses came this, the salient passage of the communication: "Should anyone in this country become my enemy, even my own children, all such shall be considered as enemies of the Company. I request from the Company men and powder, shot, arms large and small, also money for the purpose of carrying on the war, and when the business is settled I will repay the advances. Should these propositions be considered proper and acceptable to the Governor-General, he may send a confidential agent to Pulau Penang to reside; but if the Governor-General does not approve of the terms and conditions of this engagement, let him not be offended with me. Such are my wishes to be made known to the Company, and this treaty must be faithfully adhered to till the most distant times." The letter was a basis for negotiation rather than a treaty. As such, at all events, it was evidently regarded by Light, for in communicating to the Government his views on the terms offered, he thus referred to what is set forth in the records as "the 5th Article," this being the proviso relative to giving the Prince defence against his enemies: "This article comprehends the principal and almost only reason why the King wishes an alliance with the Hon. Company, and in the treaty must be worded with caution, so as to distinguish between an enemy endeavouring or aiming

at his destruction of the kingdom, and one who may simply fall into displeasure with either the King or his Minister." The Government, adopting the hint given them by Light, were cautious in their reply to the Sultan of Kedah. They stated that they would "always keep an armed vessel stationed to guard the island of Penang and the coast adjacent belonging to the King of Queda," and that "all persons residing in the country belonging to the King of Queda who shall become his enemies or commit capital offences against the State shall not be protected by the English." Furthermore, they declared that "the Governor-General and Council, on the part of the English East India Company, will take care that the King of Queda shall not be a sufferer by an English settlement being formed on the island of Penang." The last reference was to the monetary compensation demanded for the loss of the monopolies. The authorities did not want to commit themselves too far on any point, least of all on this, which touched them on a very tender spot.

With the position thus vaguely defined, Light sailed from Calcutta on his mission early in May, 1786. He was probably under no delusions as to the character of the task that was before him.

The battle at this stage was only half won. Light had to reconcile the Company's rooted distaste for an alliance which would embroil them with their neighbours with the Sultan's declared desire to make this cession of Penang the instrument of such a connection. The position was, in fact, not widely different to that which had existed at the time of the Monckton mission, save that Light himself was now in supreme control, instead of being subordinate to a young and raw official who had no knowledge of Malay character. The distinction, however, was one of

great importance, and in the long run the independent status accorded to Light saved the situation. When he reached Kedah early in July, he found that there were serious apprehensions of the State becoming involved in the hostilities then raging between Siam and Burma, and that there was an expectation that backing would be forthcoming in the emergency. The Sultan himself at the moment appears to have been more troubled with the tenour of a passage in the Governor-General's letter which appeared to him to threaten pains and penalties in the event of his not making the cession. Light, however, was able to persuade him that a false interpretation had been put upon the language, and eventually the Sultan signed the treaty on the understanding that the instrument was to be submitted for final approval to the Court of Directors in London. On July 10, exactly a week after the signature had been appended to the treaty, Light took final leave of the Sultan, and commenced preparations for the embarkation of his little force for the great work in hand. On the 14th he sailed from Kedah, and the next day his ship, the *Eliza*, with her two consorts, the *Prince Henry* and *Speedwell*, dropped anchor in Penang Harbour at a point within a musket-shot of the spot that was to be the site of what is to-day the town of Penang. A pioneer landing party was despatched ashore on July 17, under the command of Lieutenant Gray, and thenceforward the work of debarkation proceeded without intermission until August 11, when the artillery and stores were sent to the positions assigned in the new town, the main lines of which had already been laid down. The arrival in harbour the same day of H.M.S. *Valentine* suggested to Light that the time was propitious for the formal ceremony of taking possession of the island. With all appropriate rites, the British flag was hoisted, and the name Prince

of Wales's Island was conferred upon the possession in honour of the then Heir Apparent to the throne (afterwards George IV.) whose birthday fell the next day.

Light now addressed himself with vigour to the difficult work of evolving, out of the somewhat unpromising materials to his hand, a stable and, if possible, self-supporting community. There was a small Chinese population on the island at the time of the occupation: otherwise the territory was uninhabited, and as far as the interior was concerned it was a mere jungle waste. With an energy born of enthusiasm, the new Superintendent, to give Light his official title, took measures to attract settlers of the right kind. His influence with all classes in the Straits, coupled with the knowledge that the place was to be made an important station of the East India Company, soon induced a healthy flow of emigrants from all quarters. Before many months had elapsed a flourishing town of the characteristic Malayan type had sprung up on the island. Stock was imported from Kedah to supply the commissariat, and, in other ways which long experience suggested to Light, the Settlement was directed on the road to independence. Captain Kyd, who was sent in the wake of Light to report on the island with a view to a final decision being formed as to its suitability for the purposes of a new headquarter station, appears to have caught some of Light's enthusiasm for the child of his adoption. In his report to Government, dated September 1, 1787, he wrote that Penang certainly deserved a preference over any other place which had been suggested for the purposes in view. "It is," he said, "accessible without the least danger in all seasons. It is upon a coast abounding with cattle, fowl, fish, and all kinds of fruits in perfection. It has a harbour where a fleet can refit and ships heave down in the most perfect security. From the appearance

of the face of the island and its soil it promises soon, if cleared and cultivated with spirit, to be able to furnish every article of refreshment within itself sufficient for a large fleet, but above all it has upon it an inexhaustible stock of timber fit for repairing ships and for making masts. . . . As a situation for commerce it has not its equal in the Straits of Malacca."

This glowing report should have clinched the question of the retention of the island, but the authorities in Calcutta continued doubtful as to the desirability of committing themselves irrevocably on the point. As they were in possession, they probably felt that the question of a nice adjustment of the conditions upon which they held the island might wait until a more convenient opportunity. The Sultan of Kedah's views at this early period certainly left some room open for hesitancy on the part of the Company. He was sore at not obtaining the support he had looked for, and the feeling increased as the danger of Siamese aggression became more acute. The flames of his discontent were fanned by the Dutch, who had watched the rise of Penang with jealous apprehension, and intrigued energetically to neutralise the bold stroke which Light had directed at their monopoly in the Straits. Another factor which was working against the British was the hostility of the Laxamana and the Bhandara, the Sultan's two principal officials, whose interests had been injuriously affected by the occupation of Penang. The former of these Light, in one of his epistles, describes as an "old fox," while the other he characterises as "a deep cunning villainous Chooliar, who by working upon the King's pusillanimity has reduced the power of the great men and engrossed the whole of the administration." One outcome of the unholy combination was the pressing of the demand for the subsidy of $30,000



A ROADSIDE SCENE IN SELANGOR.



THE OLD FORT, MALACCA.

To face p. 80

a year, mentioned by the Sultan in his letter as suitable compensation for the loss of his trading privileges. In the communications which had passed at the outset this part of the conditions outlined had been discreetly evaded. But now it was found a convenient handle by which to exert pressure. Light was too well acquainted with the environment of the Sultan's Court—to give the somewhat sordid Royal *ménage* a high-sounding description—to be seriously alarmed at the claim. But he, nevertheless, wrote to India strongly representing to the authorities there the necessity of coming to terms. No arrangement, he stated, would, in his opinion, be acceptable which did not promise the King protection. Without such an alliance as would compel the King to furnish the Settlement at all times with provisions and prevent other European nations from settling in any other part of the country, Penang would be subject to many inconveniences. He proceeded: "Should the Siamese be permitted to take possession of his [the Sultan's] country, we shall not only find an insolent and troublesome neighbour, but be under the necessity of assisting them in their wars or go to war with them ourselves. I humbly conceive that it will be easier, and attended with less expense to the Honourable Company to declare at once the King of Kedah under our protection; little else than the name of the Company will be wanted; the longer it is delayed the greater will appear the consequence of the island, and the more difficulty there will be in fixing a settlement. The Danes, the Dutch, and the French have solicited permission to have only a house in Kedah; either of them will promise much, and should the King consider himself aggrieved or disappointed by the English, he may in despair seek for other alliance." Light's arguments were irresistible if the object of the occupation of Penang were

the consolidation of British interests in the Straits. But a cold fit had supervened in India on the first warm burst of approval with which the scheme for the new Settlement had been received, and his vigorous, and, if we may say so, statesmanlike communications missed their mark. The bent of the official mind is illustrated in a minute, penned by the Governor-General (Sir John Macpherson) quite early in the occupation before the monetary demand had been seriously formulated. The minute declared that the then embarrassed state of the finances did not warrant the occupation. Money was required for other and more important objects. The plan, however, had now gone too far to be hastily retracted. He should, therefore, consider it his duty to promote its success as far as he could consistently with the rigid economy which their present circumstances so loudly called for. Not encouraging, this, for a man who was faced by a situation calling so urgently as that at Penang did for the application of an energetic and liberal policy. That Light felt at the time that his hold on Penang was precarious is clearly shown in the letter he addressed to Lord Cornwallis at Madras while that eminent peer was on his way to Calcutta to assume the reins of Government as the first of the great line of rulers of India drawn from the ranks of British public men. Light, writing on December 15, 1786, earnestly supplicated his lordship's attention in favour of the young Settlement, which position he pointed out was urgently needed for upholding British interests in the face of the aggressive policy of the Dutch. There is no evidence that any direct reply was given to the appeal, and the tenour of the official communications which passed subsequently does not suggest any very deep interest on Lord Cornwallis's part in the Company's new acquisition in the Straits. It seems probable that the question was prejudiced

by the jealousy of a clique or faction at the capital who were inimical to Light and spread stories to his disadvantage. An element of plausibility was lent to the attacks by the course adopted by Light in joining in business with his friend Scott and monopolising most of the trade of the new station. There was nothing irregular about this, as Light was left a free hand where his own private affairs were concerned, and in any event he only followed the custom which up to that time had prevailed almost universally at the Company's distant stations of the officials engaging in private trade. But it made him enemies in many quarters, and gave point to the charges which were circulated that in founding Penang he had his eye far more to his own interests than to those of the Company. His memory was ultimately so brilliantly vindicated that we find the writer of an official paper,[1] prepared it would seem not long after Light's death, in quite heroic style, citing Chatham's famous declaration that the American Colonies were "the brightest jewels in the British diadem" to give point to a declaration in relation to Penang that "the national glory which he viewed sinking in the West had, like the resplendent original to which he emblematically alluded, risen again in the East with renewed splendour."

[1] "A Memoir of Prince of Wales's Island, considered Politically and Commercially" ("Straits Settlements Records," vol. i.).

CHAPTER VI

PENANG ATTAINS ITS MAJORITY

Land development—Trouble with the Sultan of Kedah—Conclusion of treaties—Light's views on the Administration—His illness and death—His character—The Manila Expeditionary Force at Penang—Colonel Wellesley's Memoir—Conquest of Malacca—Penang made a Presidency.

LIGHT found Penang a jungle: he left it a garden. All the arts of the tropical agriculturist as then known were called in aid to make the island a centre of production as well as of distribution. Plantations rose on every side with extraordinary celerity having regard to the precariousness of the tenure of the Settlement at that early period. To the original beauties of a scene, famed even in that region of opulent natural charm, were added the luxuriant but ordered growths of the pepper garden, the gambier plantation, and of the orchards in which the common fruits of the tropical world were cultivated with extraordinary success. Light's influence counted for much in securing this highly valuable result. There was trust in his word that the British had come to stay, and men were content to sink the capital represented by their labour in the work of development. Their path no doubt was made easy by the liberal regulations which Light introduced relative to the land. He made free grants to practically any one who would undertake to remove the jungle growth and plant the cleared area with products required for the sustenance

of the Settlement and its future enrichment. In so doing he was acting well within his instructions,[1] but in after-years there was a disposition shown by the authorities to repudiate his grants, and it was only after the most energetic representations that the policy was abandoned. It is morally certain that without the incentive offered by a free grant with undisturbed possession Penang would never have been settled. We may, perhaps, go farther and say that only a man of Light's extraordinary influence could have effected what he did even with the potent aid of unlimited land grants. The whole melancholy history of Bencoolen is a standing proof of the sterilising incapacity of the ordinary officialdom of that period when faced with the problem of building up a British community in Malaya. Yet there were men sitting in their chairs in the recesses of the Government offices at Calcutta to carp and cavil at the foolish generosity of his grants, and even to hint far from obscurely at the existence of motives not altogether disinterested in the making of them. One official, however, was there to do him full justice. This was Captain Kyd, the functionary who had surveyed Penang on its occupation in 1787. Kyd was despatched from Calcutta in 1793 to settle doubts which had arisen in the official mind as to the comparative advantages of the Settlement formed in the Andaman Islands in the previous year, and Penang as a port of refitment and refreshment for vessels of war. In his report to the Government, Captain Kyd drew an interesting comparison between the Settlement as he saw it in 1787 and as it

[1] "QUERIES BY LIGHT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"People will come from Malacca, from the coast of Coromandel, and many other places to settle at Penang: it will be necessary to grant them a proportion of land and to establish a police for their security."—"*Note* (by the Governor-General): That would be proper" ("Straits Settlements Records," vol. 1).

presented itself in this later visit. "I found," he said, "that the island which, when I surveyed it in 1787, was nearly as impenetrable a forest as the Andamans, is already cleared and cultivated to the extent of at least 25 square miles, that abundance of tropical plants and all the vegetables common in India are produced there, and the climate is temperate and healthy, and, like every other situation in the Straits of Malacca, entirely free from gales of wind and violent weather of any kind . . . ; that there is a considerable population, particularly of industrious Chinese and natives of the Coast of Coromandel, that a large town has been built, and that there are shops and markets filled with every article of refreshment or supply that a fleet can be in want of, that a very extensive commerce is established both through the medium of ships navigated by Europeans and prows from the neighbouring countries, even as far to the eastward as Celebes, and that under proper regulations and management it appears capable of increase to a very great extent." Nothing hardly could be more convincing as a testimony to Light's commanding abilities as a colony-builder. In less than six years, with the slenderest resources at his command, he had brought into vigorous existence a prosperous Settlement which was not only able to supply its own needs, but to furnish adequate supplies to the largest fleet then afloat in the East.

Nearly all the time that Light was engaged in this great constructive work he was under the shadow of the old difficulty with the Sultan of Kedah. The fact that the prince to a large extent had right on his side did not make the position easier. Light had to temporise and fence with demands which, if his own views had been alone in question, would have been straightforwardly met, and he also had to put up with slights and pinpricks which in ordinary circumstances he would have resented. For a time matters

simply drifted, the Sultan and his officials on the one hand making themselves as unpleasant as they could, and Light on the other maintaining an attitude of masterly inactivity. At length, however, the spell was broken by the Sultan preparing an expedition for the recovery of the island. Early in 1790 he gathered a quite formidable force at Prai with the declared intention of attacking Penang. Light, when he got wind of the move, lost no time in laying his plans for an effective counter-stroke. Getting together a compact contingent of 400 armed men, he sallied forth, attacked the Sultan's force in their stockade, capturing the position and putting to flight the fleet of war prahus which had gathered in anticipation of the projected assault on Penang. The Sultan had no stomach for further fighting, and he was only too glad to conclude a treaty with Light in which, in consideration of a subsidy of $6,000, the Sultan agreed to cede Penang in perpetuity, and to exclude all other European nations from settlement in Kedah. The treaty was confirmed later by the Supreme Government, and in 1800 it was supplemented by another agreement which, in consideration of an additional subsidy of $4,000, gave the Company territorial rights over an area on the mainland subsequently known as Province Wellesley. In this fashion was rounded off the largely peaceful conquest of the territory which was the nucleus of the splendid Crown Colony popularly known to-day as British Malaya.

Some years before the final consummation of his designs was reached Light had passed to his rest. The closing period of his career was largely occupied in devising suitable machinery to meet the needs of a community which had grown to proportions beyond even his sanguine expectations. As early as 1792 the Chinese community alone numbered 3,000, and they, though a most important section of the population, were only one of a number of racial

elements which went to make up the new Settlement. With the continued influx of emigrants from all parts, many of them undesirables, as was inevitable in the circumstances under which the post was established, the need of some more effective system of administering justice than the rough-and-ready arrangement which had been in use in the first days of the occupation made itself acutely felt. The question was brought to a head by proceedings taken by Light in connection with a murderous outrage committed by one European on another in the Nicobar Islands. The perpetrator of the offence was taken to Penang, and having been tried there by a court of military officers set up by Light, was found guilty and sent to Calcutta to be dealt with by the authorities at headquarters. On consideration of the case, the Advocate-General, the chief law officer, advised the Government that there was no law by which the well-meant action of Prince of Wales's Island could be supported as far as it related to the trial or punishment of murder or any other crimes at that island. The prisoner was consequently released. The failure of justice in this instance, in conjunction with other episodes arising out of the anomalous situation existing at Penang, induced Light to make to the Government an earnest appeal for the introduction of proper courts of justice. His views are set out at considerable length in a communication dated January 25, 1794. In this document Light drew a wonderfully interesting picture of the diverse elements of the population, bringing into prominence the characteristics of each and the peculiar demands which a community thus formed made upon the system of government under which they lived. "Very few people residing here," he said, "excepting the Chulias (Indians) were ever acquainted with European Governments. Brought up under the feudal laws and customs, they cannot

at once change opinions that they have imbibed from their infancy. To endeavour to subject these people to our strict military law and discipline would soon depopulate the island of all the most wealthy and useful inhabitants. A mild and at the same time an active Government is necessary. The inhabitants must at all times have recourse to the Chief, and as they are composed of many different nations, they are jealous of each other, and will not submit their cause to the decision of one whom they think is a partial administrator. The administration of justice will, therefore, for some years continue to be a troublesome and fatiguing office, which makes it necessary that the person who is to execute the duties of it should be acquainted with persons and circumstances before he enters upon it." The final conclusion which Light reached is embodied in this paragraph: "A regular form of administering justice is necessary for the peace and welfare of the Society and for the honour of the nation who granted them protection. It is likewise improper that the Superintendent should have it in his power to exercise an arbitrary judgment upon persons and things: whether this judgment is iniquitous or not the mode is still arbitrary and disagreeable to Society." The statesmanlike directness of this letter could scarcely have been excelled by a master of despatch writing. The composition reveals the man perhaps more than any other of his official writings, illuminating and suggestive as many of them are. It must have been to a certain extent with a premonition of his impending demise that he put his opinions on paper. He knew how easily, by improper handling of the strange racial medley which went to make up the population of Penang, his great work might be wrecked, and he was anxious to safeguard the position by bringing home to the Government the special requirements of the place. It has been stated that the letter was the

last official communication Light forwarded to the Government, but it was not so. We find in the records several letters of a subsequent date. What is probably really his final despatch is dated September 21, 1794. It is an official statement relative to a number of French prisoners of war captured by British cruisers in the operations then proceeding in the East and disembarked at Penang. The captives were sent by Light to Calcutta, and it is a tribute to his goodness of heart that he especially commended to the good offices of the Government the commander, M. du Bois, who was, he said, "deserving of every alleviation of his situation which circumstances and the public good will admit of."

Just a month after the humane intercession was made on behalf of the French Commander—on October 21, 1794—Light breathed his last. He had for some time previously been ill from the effects of a malarial fever contracted in the early days of the occupation, and though he had battled bravely against the weakness his impaired constitution finally gave way under the debilitating effects of the illness combined with the strain of a situation of increasing responsibility and anxiety. He was laid to rest in the local cemetery, in a grave above which is placed a marble slab, bearing a simple inscription, telling the visitor of to-day that the remains below are those of the founder of Penang. This, with an unassuming tablet in St. George's Church, is the only memento of the great Imperial pioneer. But his fame stands in need of no adventitious aid to keep it fresh in the scene of his life achievement. The present grandeur of the superstructure of British influence in the Straits of Malacca is an ever-present reminder of what is due to the man who, beyond all others, not excepting Raffles himself, contributed to the building up of that magnificent fabric.

Light's death attracted at the time only the baldest official notice in the records of the Supreme Government. But Mr. Philip Manington, who had been appointed, in response to Light's own request, Assistant-Superintendent, and who arrived in Penang a short time before the former's death, paid a generous tribute to his predecessor in the chief office to which he in due course succeeded. "Although it has been reported," he wrote, "that he [Light] was possessed of a large fortune, Mr. Pigou assures me his estate will not exceed £15,000. In short, in promoting the success of this Settlement he has spent immense sums from his private resources." The Calcutta authorities, in acknowledging the communication containing the foregoing passage, expressed their satisfaction at the public spirit shown by the late Superintendent; but here they left the matter. In later years a grudging recognition of the debt due to Light was made in the form of the presentation of a public appointment to his second son, Francis Lanoon Light, who was made Resident of Muntok in Banca during the British occupation of that island at the time of the war with the Dutch. Otherwise, Light's supreme services to the Company passed unrecognised by that body. Nor has the Imperial Government shown any disposition to repair the omission.

As was only natural, the withdrawal of Light's remarkable personality from the Settlement had a very adverse influence on its fortunes. Mr. Manington, who succeeded him, though an able and broad-minded official, was lacking in the essential knowledge of the local conditions, and, further, was not possessed of sufficient influence to make his authority felt. Serious differences developed between him and the military commander as to the limits of their respective duties. Manington was upheld in the view he

took of the absoluteness of the Superintendent's authority, excepting in times of war. But the squabble lasted long enough to check the development of the island in many ways. The war which at this time broke out with the Dutch and the French was an additional instrument of disorganisation. Trade in many important directions was throttled, and generally the interests of the station suffered, though no doubt there was one important compensating advantage in the visits of the British ships of war engaged in the operations for purposes of refitting and revictualling. It was this use of the island in the war which probably turned the vacillating opinions of the Supreme Government into the current of strong appreciation of the value of the Settlement that in the end set in. Admiral Rainier, the commander of the British squadron, expressed the warmest approval of the facilities afforded to his vessels, declaring that the local supplies were preferable in every respect to what he obtained either at Madras or Bombay. In reporting these expressions of opinion to the Government, Manington wrote: "Our resources here are really so very great without exaggeration that we could supply a fleet of sail of the line with good beef and vegetables for six months or longer if necessary. . . . We have masts and spars of any dimensions from a first-rate ship of war to a sloop. The mainmast now supplied the *Resistance* does not cost more than one-third of the price it would in England, or one-tenth of what they would have paid for it at Bombay. They are highly satisfied with it and the Commodore says he will write to the Commissioners of the Navy not in future to send anything of the kind from England, as they can procure them for a certainty here at a much less expense, exclusive of freight, &c., than the Government are at for conveying them to India." Manington's arguments were strongly

reinforced by the experience gained in 1797 when the island was made the rendezvous of the expeditionary force which in that year was despatched from India against Manila. The expedition was the largest which up to that time had ever been sent out of India. It numbered no fewer than 5,000 European troops, and there was a correspondingly large body of native soldiers from Bengal and Madras, with an immense number of followers. The little army never got beyond Penang, as the objects for which it was despatched from India were accomplished without its aid. But the experience gained on the occasion drove home to the official mind the extraordinary value of the place as a distant outpost of India. The mental process was markedly facilitated by a memoir drawn up by the Duke of Wellington, who as plain Colonel Wellesley was one of the officers sent on the expedition. The great soldier saw at a glance the potentialities of the island from this standpoint. In his terse, vigorous English he sketched the advantages which accrued from its possession, pointing out that it was so placed that it might be held by a comparatively insignificant force against all comers. He added some suggestive commentaries on the measures which were desirable to secure the effective administration of the Settlement. "As the inhabitants consist of people of different nations," he wrote, "and of different provinces of those nations, it is desirable to leave them under the direction of the headman of each Province, and to interfere as little as possible in the regulations which may be established by each for the government of his own countrymen. It may, however, be necessary, in order to ensure the general tranquillity, to have one European magistrate, who might be at the head of the magistracy of the island. He should inform himself of the methods of proceeding and of the laws which bind

the Chinese and the Malays, and in cases where either or both are parties, according to the laws of universal and natural justice." The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquess Wellesley), brother of the writer of the memoir, at this juncture arrived in India as Governor-General in succession to Sir John Shore. It is not a vain speculation to suppose that the opinions expressed received their fullest weight in the Council Chamber. However that may be, from this time forward there was no more talk of abandoning Penang. On the contrary, the disposition in official quarters was more and more to look to it as a point from which naturally radiated the Company's power in the Middle East. The capture of Malacca from the Dutch in 1795 by a British squadron, under the command of Captain Newcome, of H.M.S. *Orpheus*, had temporarily dimmed Penang's lustre; but the addition of Province Wellesley in 1798, in circumstances already described, gave a new significance to the possession which the Government in India were not slow to appreciate. In 1801 a complete judicial administration was established, with as the first judge and magistrate Mr. John Dickens (an uncle of the great novelist), who up to that period had practised in Bengal with some success. This step was followed in 1805 by the elevation of Penang to a Presidency. Mr. Philip Dundas, the first Governor, arrived in the Settlement on September 18 in that year, in all the panoply of his exalted office. In his train came a numerous body of officials, including twenty-six Europeans, whose aggregate salaries reached a very high figure. Altogether the cost of the gubernatorial establishment was £43,500 per annum. Light was avenged, but the price paid was a somewhat excessive one. In after-years the undue generosity of the Supreme Government in endowing Penang with officials gave rise to trouble.

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH AND DUTCH IN THE STRAITS

Proposed abandonment of Malacca—Destruction of the fortifications—Stamford Raffles—His protest against the evacuation—The Java Expedition—British occupation of Java—Retrocession of the island—Dutch aggrandisement—Raffles proceeds to Calcutta—He is entrusted with a special mission to the Straits.

AT the time that Penang was settling down to the enjoyment of its new dignity as a Presidency, the long-drawn-out quarrel between British and Dutch was again assuming an acute form. In all the history of European influence in the East there is perhaps nothing more remarkable than this conflict. It had, at the time of which we are writing, continued for nearly two centuries without hardly any intermission. There was a moment at the outset when it seemed that English interests would predominate in the region known popularly as the Spice Islands. The Dutch were driven out of Jakatra, the modern Batavia, and their ships were chased away from what up to then had been the seat of their power. But the triumph was only a temporary one. With the withdrawal of the English ships to render much-needed service in India, Holland reasserted her influence, returning to Jakatra to establish a domination which was not again to be seriously challenged until she once more found herself *vis-à-vis* her old antagonist. In the interval she had excluded the

English East India Company from one place after another, until, as we have seen, it had to rest content with an isolated position on the worst part of the Sumatran Coast. That restriction of its activities in the Middle East was a blessing in disguise, for it enabled the Company to concentrate its energies on its Settlements in India, and so to lay the foundations of the wonderful Empire which owns Britain's sovereign allegiance to-day. But the Dutch monopolistic decrees had always caused friction, and their irritant effect became increasingly marked as the expansion of British power and trade in the East rendered freedom of action outside the boundaries of India more essential. The occupation of Penang, as the narrative has clearly revealed, was an outcome of the feeling in British official quarters that the Dutch claims to supreme influence in the Middle East must be resisted. That step committed the Indian Government to the policy of direct intervention in the Straits of Malacca, and there was no turning back from it, even if there had been any wish to escape obligations from "the craven fear of being great" which has sometimes at critical moments in the Empire's history paralysed the British arm.

The Indian Government were the readier to accept the policy which Light's insight had directed them to pursue, because the years of stress at the end of the eighteenth century had brought into full prominence the enormous strategic value of the Straits of Malacca, while a series of naval episodes had demonstrated that the Power that held the Straits commanded the trade of China. Experience gained in the despatch of the Manila expedition had convincingly shown how immensely the possession of the Straits added to the striking force of the military arm of India. Moreover, there was a

dawning perception of the value of Malaya itself as a field for commerce. To these reasons of a local character must be added the stimulating effect of the successes won by British arms in the great Western theatre in which the destinies of Europe were being decided. The news of the Battle of Trafalgar, filtering down through the Euphrates Valley to the Persian Gulf, passed on thence to Bombay, and transmitted from Bombay to Penang, had infused new vigour into the East India Company's policy in the Middle East and greatly enlarged the vision of those who were directing it. The position, however, was one not free from difficulty and embarrassment. In occupying Malacca in 1795, the British Government acted nominally as the protector of legitimate Dutch rights usurped by Napoleon Bonaparte. In that *rôle* they were prepared to hand back the Settlement to its rightful owners on the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens in 1802. But as war was resumed before the retrocession could be made, the occupation continued. The authorities at Penang in time began to realise that the responsibility that had been undertaken was no light one. The cost of administration was heavy, and there was practically no return, as trade had to a large extent been diverted to Penang. In the circumstances, the proposal was made by Lieut.-Colonel Farquhar, then Governor of Prince of Wales Island, that the place should be abandoned after the destruction of the fortifications. The Court of Directors, always ready to welcome schemes which tended to economy, gave their sanction to the plan. Without loss of time, measures were taken to give effect to the official decision. Imbued by a zeal worthy of a better cause, Lieut.-Colonel Farquhar attacked the fortifications, which were one of the characteristic

features of Malacca. The Portuguese and Dutch had built solidly and well, and the task of destruction was no light one. Eventually, however, at a cost of £7,000, the iconoclasts had laid level with the earth the picturesque bastions and ramparts which for nearly three centuries had stood as silent witnesses to the might of the strange new power which had come out of the West after Vasco da Gama had completed his epoch-making voyage to the East round the Cape of Good Hope. Only a single gateway remains to-day to attest the grandeur of the conception of the original designer of the defences. After the work of destruction was complete, it simply remained to withdraw the British representatives, and the step would assuredly have been taken but for the reception of orders from the Supreme Government, directing the Penang authorities to suspend proceedings in connection with the evacuation. The change in policy had been brought about by the action of a young official, who, having visited Malacca from Penang, and viewed the ancient seat of trade under the shadow of the impending abandonment, on his own initiative wrote a report, setting out in such convincing language the advantages of retaining the post that it was impossible for the authorities not to recognise that the course they had directed to be taken was a mistaken one. That young official was Thomas Stamford Raffles—a name which to all time will be associated with the Straits Settlements as that of a man to whose genius and discernment the present pre-eminent position of British power in the Straits of Malacca is largely due.

Raffles, like Light, his predecessor and prototype in the work of Empire-building in Malaya, owed the position of eminence he ultimately attained to his own



GATEWAY, OLD FORT, MALACCA.



STADT HOUSE AND CLOCK TOWER, MALACCA.

To face p. 98.

exertions. The son of a sea-captain engaged in the West Indian trade, he first saw the light at sea on July 5, 1781. After a somewhat perfunctory education at an academy at Hammersmith, at the age of fourteen he entered the East India Company's service as a clerk at the headquarters establishment in Leadenhall Street. His talents and character for industry brought him early to the notice of the heads of the office, and when he was only twenty-four he was sent out to Penang to fill the responsible position of Assistant-Secretary to the Presidency Government, which had then been only recently formed. On the voyage out he studied the Malay language with such success that when he arrived at his destination he was fairly grounded in the tongue. The linguistic taste once acquired was never lost. Raffles pursued his studies energetically until he became an expert in all that concerned Malay literature. Such industry naturally won recognition in an administration which had been only a short time previously improvised from the ranks of Indian officialdom, in which a knowledge of Malay was for the most part conspicuously absent. A fortunate chance brought him into touch with Leyden, who went out to India in the Earl of Minto's train. The eminent scientist was greatly struck with the youthful secretary's zeal and ability, and on his return to Calcutta he did not fail to say a good word for Raffles to his noble patron. It therefore happened that when Raffles visited Calcutta in 1807 he met with a most kindly reception from the Governor-General. Raffles at the interview discussed with such remarkable breadth of view the problem of British influence in the Straits that Lord Minto ended by giving him a special commission to act as Governor-General's Agent in the Eastern Seas. It was in this capacity that Raffles

penned the communication above alluded to in reference to the evacuation of Malacca.

The Malacca despatch, the first of the important series of State papers to which Raffles set his name, is a masterly composition, revealing in a peculiar degree that gift of lucid exposition which is so strongly marked in all the writings of the man. Raffles pressed home the point that the abandonment of the local population would be a reflection on the British name. "The natives," he wrote, "consider the British faith pledged for their protection. When the Settlement fell into the hands of the English they were invited to remain: protection and even encouragement were offered them. The latter has long ago ceased; and they are in daily expectation of losing the former. For our protection they are willing to make great sacrifices; and they pay the heavy duties imposed on them with the cheerfulness of faithful and obedient subjects. The revenues of Malacca are never in arrear."

Such an appeal as this could not be resisted, especially when it was backed with cogent facts which showed that the Malacca population was an important community of twenty thousand souls, most of whom belonged to families which had been settled in the place for centuries. The British occupation continued, and three years later the wisdom of the step was demonstrated by the use it was possible to make of the post for the expeditionary force despatched to Java to destroy the revolutionary Government established there under Daendels, one of Napoleon's marshals. Raffles, no doubt, had a hand in this selection, for he had been summoned to Calcutta in 1810 to advise Lord Minto, and all the preliminary measures in connection with the expedition were taken under his advice. It was a splendid force

which ultimately assembled in the vicinity of Albuquerque's old stronghold. It comprised six thousand European soldiers, with an equal number of native troops, with a train of artillery and a certain proportion of cavalry. Nothing like it had ever before been seen in Malaya. How deeply it impressed the native mind is to be gained from the lively description of the landing of the force in the pages of the "Hikaiat Abdullah"—the autobiography of a Malay who was associated with Raffles in his official career. Abdullah describes the excitement which prevailed amongst the native population on the occasion, and the awe with which they regarded Lord Minto, the central figure in the pageant. Here is one delightful passage indicative of the popular sentiment: "As he [Lord Minto] came forward, he looked to right and left and bowed to either hand, and then walked slowly through the guard of honour, while the guns kept thundering the salute, and he never ceased in raising his hand in courteous acknowledgment of salutations. I could not see in him the slightest trace of self-hauteur or self-importance: he simply bowed without affectation and regarded every one pleasantly. And as he came to a great crowd of people they saluted him; and he stopped for a moment and raised his hand to acknowledge the welcome of all these poor folk—Chinese, Tamils, Malays, and Eurasians—and he smiled as he returned the greeting. How the hearts of all God's servants expanded with joy, and how the people prayed for blessings on Lord Minto when they saw how he bore himself and how well he knew the way to win affection."

In the Stadt House at Malacca is a picture representing Lord Minto on horseback. It is the sole memento in Malacca to-day of the brilliant episode in the town's

history which is described by Abdullah's graphic pen. Even the Java expedition itself has largely faded from latter-day memory. The British force, it may be recalled here, landed near Batavia on August 4, 1811, and gained a decisive victory over the local forces, led by General Janssens, at Cornelis, on August 26. Thereafter the entire island came under British domination, and with Stamford Raffles as its Lieut.-Governor was ruled as a British possession until 1816, when it was handed back to Holland in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Vienna. These four years of Raffles's official life were of the highest interest, but the great work he accomplished in this period lies beyond the province of this volume. It must suffice to say that he left an indelible impress on the land system of the island, and in other ways made the period of the British occupation memorable in Javan annals.

Raffles's sojourn in Java tended materially to strengthen the views he already held as to the importance of not conceding the Dutch claims to ascendancy in the Middle East. To submit to these pretensions, he realised completely, would be for Britain to abdicate a position which was hers by right of long prescription as well as by the overwhelming magnitude of her interests as the ruling power of India and the pioneer of the trade with China. In England, whither Raffles proceeded to enjoy a well-earned holiday at the close of his Javan administration, the ex-Lieut.-Governor lost no opportunity of ventilating his opinion as to the course which should be pursued in the new conditions left by the Treaty of Vienna. But the subject was not then ripe for discussion. Nor did an opportunity present itself of official action until the question of the reoccupation of Malacca by the Dutch brought once more into

prominence the old conflict of views as to respective British and Dutch rights in the Straits.

While the controversy was maturing, Raffles proceeded in Bencoolen to take up the position of Lieut.-Governor there, to which he had been appointed on the termination of his leave. His active nature chafed under the restraints of exile to such an isolated post. As the years had rolled by, Bencoolen had descended still farther in the scale of the Company's establishments. It was described by Malays as *tana mati*, or dead land, and well worthy it was of the title. The only active element about the place was its vices, and these were obtruded on every side. Trade there was practically none, a single cargo of pepper representing the entire export during the year.

While brooding amid these uncongenial surroundings upon the hard fate which had cast him on this dreary spot, Raffles's quick sense of perception was aroused by the news which floated through to him by every ship from the outer world of the proceedings of the Dutch. The Government in the Netherlands, for the reassertion of their position, had sent out an imposing force of some twelve thousand men, including a large proportion of highly trained European troops. Java had not only been fully occupied, but expeditions had been despatched in all directions to establish posts, so as to cast the ægis of Dutch sovereignty over the widest area. In order to counteract the obvious design to exclude British influence, Colonel Bannerman, who was then Governor of Prince of Wales Island, acting on instructions from the Supreme Government, had sent Major Farquhar (not the officer of the same name who was responsible for the destruction of the Malacca defences, but a younger official) to Rhio with orders to form a new Settlement

there. But the mission had proved abortive, owing to the Dutch having anticipated the move. Deeming that no other positions were then open, the Penang Government had resigned itself to the apparently inevitable supremacy of the Dutch at the eastern end of the Straits—a supremacy which would become more marked when the arrangements for the retrocession of Malacca were carried out. Their fatalistic attitude tended to rouse in Raffles the spirit of energy which had dictated his protest against the abandonment of Malacca in 1811. On his own initiative, he proceeded to Calcutta to represent to the authorities there, in the most forcible way he could, the grave impolicy of permitting the Dutch to squeeze the British out of the eastern end of the Straits. The Marquess of Hastings, the then Governor-General, lent his ear to the strong representations which were made to him by Raffles in favour of immediate action. He was impressed, as he could hardly have failed to be, with the earnestness of his visitor, and his mature judgment told him that there was the fullest cogency in his arguments as to the dangers of drifting. The outcome of the interviews was that history repeated itself—that as Light had been despatched by Sir John Macpherson in 1786 to occupy Penang as a buttress against Dutch exclusiveness, so Raffles now, thirty-two years later, was entrusted by Lord Hastings with a mission having for its object the occupation of another position in order to counteract the monopolistic tendencies of the Hollanders.

The lines of policy which were settled between Lord Hastings and Raffles were that Dutch pretensions in Sumatra should be conceded, and that they should also have the exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda, but that the right should be asserted of free trade

with the Archipelago and China through the Straits of Malacca. To achieve the ends aimed at, it was recognised that some post to the southward of Malacca would have to be secured, and in general terms Raffles was empowered to secure this. A commission to act as the Governor-General's agent gave powers to the envoy which were to prove of the highest value in the execution of his plans. Thus once more the official hand was forced by the importunities of a patriot who, more far-seeing than his countrymen on the spot, recognised that a moment had come which called for energetic action. But for his intervention, we might have been lamenting to-day the decadence of British power in a region in which it is all-powerful, and from which it is ever extending its ramifications to external areas hitherto uncontrolled by us.

CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATION OF SINGAPORE

Raffles's mission to the Straits—Opposition of the Penang Government—British flag hoisted at Singapore—The home authorities antagonistic to the occupation—Final settlement of the question—Raffles plans the new Singapore—Major Farquhar superintends the building of the Settlement—Raffles's administrative measures—His departure from Singapore—His death and character.

RAFFLES left Calcutta on January 19, 1819, with a full determination to plant the British flag at some strategic point in the Straits, which, besides acting as a barrier against Dutch pretensions, would supply a rallying point for trade in the Eastern seas. His keen patriotism, strengthened as it had been by his term of service in Java, stimulated his energies, while his shrewd judgment told him that the opportunity which now presented itself of carrying out a long-cherished design of giving Great Britain a substantial "place in the sun" in the Middle East must be seized if his country was not to be permanently relegated to a back position. A touch of sentiment mingled with the more practical considerations which urged him forward. Not long previously he had, in his "History of Java," painted in eloquent passages the glories of ancient Malayan civilisation, and spoken with the glow of enthusiasm of the great region of the Archipelago, which

had in all ages excited the attention and attracted the cupidity of more civilised nations, and whose valuable and peculiar productions "contributed to swell the extravagance of Roman luxury," while he had hazarded the speculation that the region, perhaps in the earliest period amongst the Italian States, "communicated the first electric spark which awoke to life the energies and the literature of Europe." That Britain should seat herself in this historic area and spread over islet and peninsula the beneficent influence of her civilisation was an aspiration which he had long treasured, not from a love of aggrandisement, but because he firmly believed that his country alone could revive to the full extent the commercial splendours of the past. He was in no sort of doubt as to the precise locality in which it was desirable to establish the new Settlement. Before he quitted Bencoolen, he had indicated Bintang, or Bentan, in the Rhio Straits, about thirty miles from Singapore, as a likely spot for the purposes in view. Afterwards, in Calcutta, he had put forward a definite request for permission "to anchor a line of battleship and hoist the English flag at the mouth either of the Straits of Malacca or of Sunda." At the last moment, when he had the final instructions of the Governor-General in his possession, and had started on his voyage, he actually particularised the centre which was ultimately occupied. Writing from "The Sandheads," the pilot station at the mouth of the Hooghly, on December 12, 1818, he said: "We are now on our way to the eastward in the hope of doing something, but I much fear that the Dutch have hardly left us an inch of ground to stand upon. My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura."

It was afterwards said that the honour of discovering, or, more properly speaking, rediscovering, Singapore was not Raffles's, but belonged to Major Farquhar, with whom he was associated in the mission; but the communication quoted is conclusive evidence that Raffles had Singapore in his mind from the outset. Saturated as he was with Malayan history and traditions, he doubtless needed no reminder of the advantages of this historic spot.

It was a great thing for Raffles to have what may be termed a roving commission, with powers which enabled him to take independent decisions. But to the position attached the notable disadvantage that official jealousy was aroused by the procedure of the Governor-General in dealing directly with the matter. The Penang Government at that period was in the hands of Colonel Bannerman, an experienced official who had seen long service in India, and had for a period served on the Court of Directors at home. In many respects Colonel Bannerman made an admirable administrator, but he was opinionated and dictatorial, and, having made up his mind that the Dutch had closed all avenues to the establishment of a new Settlement to the eastward, was not content to see a junior official trying his hand at the business of finding an opening. His reception of Raffles was marked by a scarcely veiled hostility. His very first letter to the Governor-General's envoy contained an emphatic expression of opinion as to the futility of the enterprise in view of the failure of Major Farquhar's mission to Rhio and the activity of the Dutch in that and other quarters. Raffles, in replying to the letter on January 1, 1819, remarked that although Rhio was preoccupied, "the island of Sincapore and the districts of Old Johore and the Straits of Indugeeree on Sumatra offer eligible points for establishing the required

Settlement," and declared his inclination to the policy of proceeding at once to the eastward with a respectable and efficient force. Bannerman appears to have been greatly incensed at this assertion of independence on Raffles's part. In a letter dated January 3, 1819, he definitely declined to supply the military detachment which was required for the execution of the design in hand. Challenged by Raffles to state whether the refusal of assistance was final, Bannerman wrote saying that he was willing to give military aid, but that he did so only on Raffles's statement that he had authority from the Governor-General apart from the written instructions, the terms of which were relied upon by the writer to justify the original refusal. Eventually, after much controversy, the expedition was got together, and on January 19, 1819, Raffles sailed, accompanied by Major Farquhar, who had joined him a few days earlier. In the interval which had elapsed since his departure from India he had not wavered in his opinion as to the direction in which his mission would probably reach a successful completion. In a letter to Mr. Adam, the Secretary to the Supreme Government, penned three days before his departure, he wrote as follows: "The island of Sincapore, independently of the straits and harbour of Johore, which it both forms and commands, has on its southern shores, and by means of the several small islands which lie off it, excellent anchorage and smaller harbours, and seems in every respect most peculiarly adapted to our object. Its position in the Straits is far more convenient and commanding than even Rhio for our China trade passing down the Straits of Malacca, and every native vessel that sails through the Straits of Rhio must pass in sight of it." Raffles added that there did not appear to be any objection "to a station at Sincapore, or on the opposite shore towards Port Romanea, or on any other of the smaller

islands which lie off this part of the coast." Practically it may be said that Raffles had made the choice of Singapore before he started from Penang. That, however, he had still to a certain extent an open mind is indicated by his action in directing the expedition in the first instance to Siak and the Karimun Islands. He was induced to take this course by Major Farquhar, who held strongly to the opinion that in this direction a lodgment might be effected. In the vicinity of the Karimun Islands the expedition was met by Captain Ross, of the East India Company's Marine, who had been engaged upon a survey of the islands. His report was quite conclusive against their occupation. The Small Karimun, he showed, did not afford any site whatever for a settlement, while at the Great Karimun the harbour accommodation was too restricted to be of use. The way was now cleared for the execution of Raffles's own design. Taking Captain Ross with him, Raffles sailed across the Straits to Singapore, and dropped anchor off the little native settlement which clustered about the shore. Without loss of time he got into touch with the native authorities, and learning from them that there was no obstacle to a British occupation, on January 29, 1819, he hoisted the Union Jack. Raffles's spirit rose as he contemplated the successful consummation of his hopes. "Here I am at Singapore," he wrote to his friend Marsden, "true to my word, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasure which a footing on such classic ground must inspire. The lines of the old city and of its defences are still to be traced, and within its ramparts the British Union Jack waves unmolested."

On the island at the period of the British landing was the Dato Temenggong of Johore, a high official of the Sultan of Johore, within whose territory Singapore was embraced. From this functionary was obtained, on

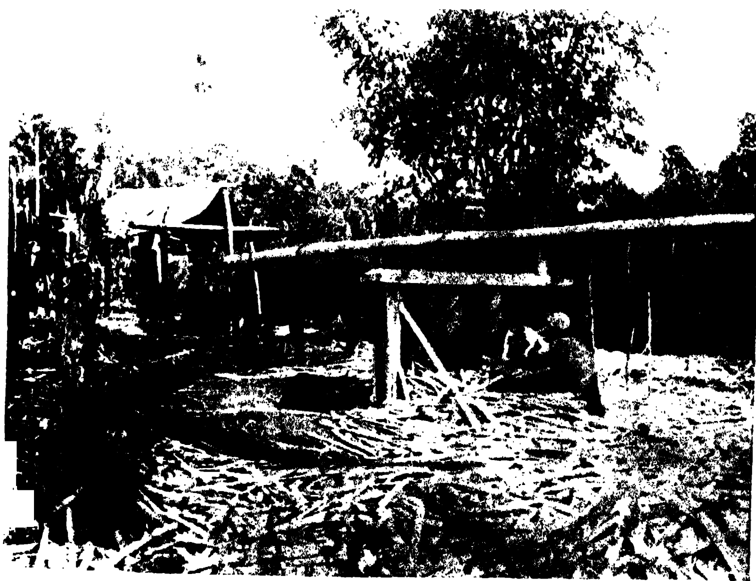
January 30, without any great difficulty, a provisional permit to occupy the island. The Temenggong claimed to possess independent power over Singapore territory, but Raffles deemed it prudent to secure the ratification of the understanding at the hands of the Sultan of Johore. It happened at this juncture that the ruling prince, Abdul Rahman by name, was under Dutch influence, and therefore, from the British point of view, impossible. But Raffles managed to find a way out of the difficulty by ignoring the reigning Sultan and making terms with his elder brother, Tunku Husein, who had been wrongfully excluded from the succession. The new treaty, dated February 6, 1819, embodied the formal transfer of the island to British sovereignty with such sanction as the newly proclaimed Sultan of Johore, in conjunction with the Temenggong, could give it. But it was deemed advisable to extend its provisions by a further instrument, concluded on June 26 in the same year, and before the Settlement finally passed out of the region of diplomatic negotiations two additional treaties were arranged—one in June, 1823, and another on November 19, 1824.

By a clever stroke Raffles had added to the British dominions a unit which was destined to prove of inestimable value in the development of the Imperial system. Even at that time the immense potentialities of this outpost guarding the principal route to the Far East must have been realised in part at least, for the experience of succeeding generations has revealed the strategical significance of the Straits of Malacca. Yet Raffles was only able to make his peaceful conquest effective after the most strenuous fighting against prejudiced ill-will in various quarters. The Penang opposition was decisively disposed of by despatches from the Governor-General censuring the local Government in the strongest terms for their action in

attempting to thwart Raffles in the execution of the design with which he had been entrusted. But in its place arose a more formidable antagonism to the occupation based on a misapprehension of the political aspects of the enterprise. The authorities at home from the first looked askance at the mission. Apprehensive of its probable effect on their larger interests in India, they had lost no time in writing out to the Marquess of Hastings expressing their disapprobation of the course that had been adopted in sending Raffles to the Straits. When the news eventually came to hand announcing the actual occupation of a post so far eastward as Singapore, they gave vent to their displeasure in the most pointed terms, declaring that "any difficulty with the Dutch will be created by Sir Stamford Raffles's intemperance of conduct and language." They intimated that they would await the further explanations of Lord Hastings "before retaining or relinquishing Sir Stamford Raffles's acquisition of Singapore." The Imperial Government added its voice to the protest which was raised at India House. Ministers were "excessively angry" that the step should have been taken without more mature deliberation. In fine, if Raffles had been an official who had grossly abused his trust, he could not have been assailed with more bitterness than during the period following the successful execution of his mission. History has so splendidly vindicated his action that the opposition now only appears as a specially amusing example of that lack of prescience in high quarters in England which from time to time from the dawn of Colonial history has marked the Empire's development. But to Raffles it was a very real and serious obstacle in his path, and with the shrewdness which distinguished him he set about removing it by the practical expedient of invoking the interest of distinguished acquaintances at home in the child of his



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selection. So assiduously and ably did he ply his pen that a sounder conception of the importance of Singapore commenced to dawn, and with it an appreciation of the necessity of strenuously resisting the claim which the Dutch Government had been prompt to put forward of prior rights in the island. In a series of despatches, the Marquess of Hastings spiritedly combated what in a private communication he stigmatised as "the profligate speculation" embodied in the claim of the Dutch to supremacy over every island and coast of the Eastern Archipelago. He argued that the British title to Singapore was good in equity as well as in international law, and he declared finally that the sole object of the British Government was to protect its own interests against what had appeared an alarming indication of pretensions to supremacy and monopoly on the part of the Netherlandish authorities in seas hitherto free to all parties. The controversy continued in Europe until 1824, when, in the adjustment then made between the British and the Dutch Governments, the rights of the former to Singapore were recognised.

All the time that the discussion was proceeding as to the legitimacy of the British occupation, the work of building up the Settlement was proceeding with undiminished energy. Raffles, immediately after the occupation, had proceeded to Acheen to discharge the mission with which he had been entrusted to the State in connection with the more important work of establishing a new outpost. But on June 10, 1819, he was back again in Singapore, and he immediately devoted himself heart and soul to the, to him, thoroughly congenial task of constructing on the ruins of the dead Singapura a new city which should carry to still greater heights the commercial fame which had once centred there. He was guided in his work by an official

experience of many years, during which he had accumulated a unique knowledge of the races which go to make up the varied population of Malaya. This, with his native common sense and large-minded conception of affairs, enabled him to give from the outset a vitality and a purpose to the operations, and to place beyond doubt the ultimate success of the occupation. With an incomparable situation to his hand, and few vested rights to embarrass him in the execution of his designs, he planned the new Settlement on lines which enabled his successors to create what is admittedly one of the leading cities east of Suez. He was called away to Bencoolen during the earliest stage of the constructive work, and was not actually established in Singapore until October, 1822, when he took over the government of the island from the hands of Major Farquhar. That official had in the interval accomplished much spade-work of a useful kind, and not a little of the credit of the successful establishment of the post was due to the energy with which he cleared the jungle and constructed roads in all directions with a keen eye to future requirements. But he had in some important particulars departed from the instructions which had been left with him, and the circumstance created some friction between him and Raffles. A revision of the original plan became necessary as a consequence of the unauthorised changes that had been made, and it was not without difficulty that a satisfactory settlement was reached. But with the exercise of tact on the part of the Government the work was started afresh on principles which, while in harmony with the first design, gave an additional elasticity to the building operations in some directions. Under a generous system of administration the town grew apace. Buildings sprang up on all hands, and in a comparatively brief period a thriving

Settlement looked out upon the waters of the harbour, in silent but eloquent testimony to the genius which had planted the British flag upon this historic spot.

Not the least of the factors which made for the early success of Singapore was the fiscal system which Raffles introduced. Far-seeing in all things, the eminent man realised especially the necessity of an unrestrained trade to the prosperity of a Settlement such as Singapore, which would naturally draw to itself all the commerce of a wide area, not merely in the Straits, but in the Eastern Archipelago. He therefore resolutely put aside all idea of a revenue from import duties, believing that the surest means of making the position self-supporting was to build up a large trade, which would justify, in the long run, the imposition of internal taxation. Acting on these principles, Raffles constituted Singapore a free port at the outset, and a free port it has ever since remained, to the great advantage of British commerce and the infinite good of the Colony as a self-contained Imperial possession. In the general affairs of the administration Raffles showed a similarly liberal spirit. He devoted his earnest attention to the moral well-being of the community, and framed a scheme for the education of Chinese and Malay youth, the practical outcome of which was the foundation, in 1822, of the famous Singapore Institute, which remains to-day amongst the best known and most prized of Singapore's institutions. A code of laws, drafted with a view to the needs of a mixed community, was formulated, and Raffles himself sat in court to administer it. To strengthen further the administration of the law and create a sense of responsibility in the community he set up a local magistracy, the members of which were appointed from amongst the leading inhabitants. Land regulations were framed on judicious lines, and for the benefit of shipping

a careful survey of the harbour and adjacent coasts from Diamond Point to the Karimun Islands was instituted. Nothing, in short, was left undone which was calculated to contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the infant Settlement.

Such a record as that of Raffles at Singapore should have secured him from the ordinary changes and chances of official life. But he was in bad odour at the time. He had committed the crime—unpardonable to a certain class of mind—of being original and not shrinking from responsibility, and he was ruthlessly torn away from his splendid work at Singapore to perform the miserable round of official duty amid the squalid wastes of Bencoolen. His departure from Singapore was accompanied by many manifestations of regret on the part of the polyglot community over which he had ruled so wisely and well. A memorial, presented to him on the eve of his sailing for his charge, expressed in simple and affectionate language the sentiments of the people. "To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views," the memorialists wrote, "we owe at once the foundation and the maintenance of a Settlement unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established—principles the operation of which has converted, in a period short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates into the abode of enterprise, security, and opulence. While we acknowledge our peculiar obligations to you, we reflect at the same time with pride and satisfaction upon the active and beneficent means by which you have promoted and patronised the diffusion of intellectual and moral improvement, and we anticipate with confidence their happy influence in advancing the cause of humanity and civilisation." In his reply, Raffles spoke of the free-trade policy he had followed as having been adopted in

accordance with recognised principles in order that "no sinister, no sordid view, no considerations either of political importance or pecuniary advantage, should interfere with the broad and liberal principles on which the British interests had been established."

The faithful Abdullah has left us an affecting description of Raffles's farewell to Singapore. Through his tear-dimmed eyes we see the great man, accompanied by "an immense crowd of people of every nationality," making his way to the shore, "receiving as he went the tribute of a sincere regret at his departure." Then we have a glimpse of him later in his cabin on board the little ship which was to bear him to Bencoolen, "wiping the tears from his eyes" as he bade Abdullah not to grieve, but to go home and live in hopes of seeing him again. Lastly, as the ship slowly moves away, we have a picture of a face stained with grief gazing out of a port-hole upon the fair landscape over which the Union Jack floated in token of a glorious future which the departing administrator was not destined to see.

With a heavy heart Raffles strove to pick up the broken threads of his life at Bencoolen, but exile to this unattractive spot had, with the lapse of time, become unbearable to him, and within a short time he had made his plans for a final retirement to his native land. On February 2, 1824, he embarked with Lady Raffles for the homeward voyage on the ship *Fame*, taking with him all his natural-history collections, the products of many years' assiduous labour. Ere the vessel had barely left port a fire broke out on board, the flames spreading with such rapidity that it was only with difficulty that the passengers and crew were rescued. Raffles bore the tremendous loss of his treasures with philosophic calm, and proceeded immediately to make fresh arrangements for the homeward journey.

Eventually, in another vessel, he made his way to England, where, broken in health, he arrived towards the end of the same year. He took up his residence at Highwood Hill, Middlesex, where he had as a near neighbour William Wilberforce. In ordinary circumstances Raffles would have enjoyed the opportunities which his retirement afforded for cultured intercourse in the metropolis. But he soon found himself involved in controversy with the officials at India House over some features of his Javan administration. Though he battled bravely with the adverse conditions by which he was confronted, he was never able to free himself from the official entanglements. Wearied in spirit and weighed down by monetary difficulties, he succumbed to an attack of apoplexy on July 5, 1826. He rests in Hendon Churchyard, in an unknown grave. A tablet, placed in the church a few years ago by subscription, tells the world that the Founder of Singapore is buried not far from the spot, but this is the only indication to the passer-by that the dust of one of the greatest of the race of Empire-builders mingles with that of the simple inhabitants of this little Middlesex town.

The fame of Raffles has long outlived his detractors. To-day there is no patriotic Briton who does not doff his cap in homage to his memory. As the years have rolled by the grandeur of his services to the Empire has come into clearer perspective. We have passed the time when the mention of the strategical importance of the Straits of Malacca raised a shallow laugh in political quarters. It does not require a Mahan to see that the possession of Singapore gives us an immense advantage in the world-struggle upon which we are engaged. With it in our hands we control the routes to the East; if it were in the possession of others, our whole Eastern commerce might be imperilled in time

of war. It is one of the supreme centres around which the life of the universe revolves, whether it be in the domain of politics or of commerce. For this incomparable possession we have to thank the spirit of Raffles, and that alone. If his contemporaries had had their way, there would have been no Singapore and probably no Federated Malay States. It is even conceivable that the whole map of Asia might have been painted differently if any other flag but our own had waved over that islet of classic renown which stands watch and ward over the route to the Far East. Raffles thus has a niche in our National Walhalla second in glory to that of hardly any other Colonial administrator. His name, we may be sure, will be carried to remote posterity as that of a patriot who added lustre to the achievements of his country.

CHAPTER IX

BRITISH DEVELOPMENT IN THE PENINSULA

Settlement with the Dutch—Crown Colony government introduced in the Straits—Anarchy in Perak and Selangor—British intervention—Introduction of the Residential system—Murder of Mr. J. W. Birch—Trial and punishment of the conspirators—Sir Hugh Low's administration in Perak—Federation of the States—Kuala Lumpur adopted as the capital—Brilliant results of British control in Malaya.

ONE outstanding feature of the history of the British Empire is the irresistible character of the forces which tended to produce the wonderful aggregation of territories which we see to-day. As the Roman legions were borne ever forward, not so much by lust of conquest as the logic of events, until they were confronted by the ocean or the impassable desert, so the flag of Britain has been carried from one advanced post to another, until the extreme limits of possible development have been reached. Expansion for a Power situated as Great Britain was a century ago was a natural law. To stand still was as impossible as to go back. Safety was only to be found in following the guidance of the fateful finger which was ever beckoning the nation onward and outward. Many of our foreign critics, and not a few even of our own writers, have attributed our acquisitiveness to pure greed, and it is impossible to deny that sordid motives have at times entered into our measures of Imperial development.

But, on the whole, the factor which has predominated in the constructive work of the past has been the overwhelming necessity for aggressive action, or at least "peaceful penetration," dictated by the requirements of a position already taken up. In the Malayan region this has peculiarly been the case from the first day that we owned territory in that quarter. At every critical stage of the building up of "the Settlements," the higher authorities, as we have seen, played sometimes an obstructive and always a reluctant part in the business, and only assented at last to the additions to British territory when the turn of events made the adoption of any other course practically impossible. Their aim was ever to limit their responsibilities, as far as was consistent with the maintenance of a position of influence in the Straits. The negotiations with the Dutch Government following upon the occupation of Singapore were conducted in this spirit. The Government gave up, without a shade of misgiving, our substantial rights in Sumatra—one of the richest of tropical islands—for Malacca and the somewhat shadowy claims which the Dutch had to political influence in certain of the Malay States and notably Johore. The bargain, with all its one-sidedness, has not turned out badly, for it has brought a lasting peace and friendliness where hitherto all had been turmoil and bitter enmity, and has secured a measure of development on both sides of the Straits which would not have been possible under the old conditions of uncertainty as to the respective limits of British and Dutch spheres of influence. Still, it was for a situation widely different in character to this that the British authorities worked out their designs in the period of adjustment subsequent to the hoisting of the British flag at Singapore. They knew little, and cared less, about the territory on either side of the Straits

outside the immediate limits of the existing Settlements. In their eyes, it was "mostly light land" which was an almost negligible quantity in a serious diplomatic transaction. What the British, at all events, wished for was a condominium which would ease the relations of the two Powers in Europe, and open the door for co-operation in the then not impossible event of Continental complications. So, with a sigh of relief at the ending of a seemingly interminable quarrel, Downing Street renounced the apparently valueless British rights in Sumatra, and with no enthusiasm accepted the new position in the Malay Archipelago which, save as far as Singapore was concerned, appeared to offer little promise of any substantial advantage to Great Britain.

Singapore itself soon demonstrated, in the growth of its trade, the wisdom which had dictated its selection as a British *point d'appui.* Its administration in the years immediately following Raffles's disappearance from the scene fell into the capable hands of Mr. John Crawfurd, who united to a shrewd, practical common sense intellectual qualities of a high order. Under his skilled direction, the commercial activities of the island grew apace, until the trade reached quite respectable proportions. In 1826 the Settlement was incorporated with Penang and Malacca under one Government, and Mr. Fullerton, a Madras civilian, was sent to the Straits as Governor, with Penang as his headquarters. Four years later there was a further change in the system of administration, by the issuing of a decree placing the three Settlements under the direct control of the Supreme Government at Calcutta. For a good many years the possessions remained in this condition of dependency. Isolated from India, living their own peculiar lives and having their own special interests, they suffered at many points from the system

of control. Singapore especially was placed at a disadvantage, as it found itself at every turn hampered by the action of the overruling authorities, who, for the most part, were indifferent to, if not ignorant of, its needs. The cry in time went up from its inhabitants, by this time forming one of the most influential commercial communities in the East, for a system of government free from the Indian shackles. On the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown after the Mutiny, the movement for separation assumed practical shape. Financial difficulties were raised in India to the transfer, and in order to elucidate the situation Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead) was sent out on a special mission. His report was completely favourable, and as the outcome of it the Imperial Government passed through Parliament, in the session of 1866, a measure legalising the status of the three Settlements as a Crown Colony under a Governor aided by a Legislative Council of the usual Crown Colony type. The actual transfer took place on April 1, 1867, under the supervision of Sir Harry Ord, C.B., an officer of the Royal Engineers, who was appointed the first Governor on the strength of a successful administration of Colonial affairs on the West Coast of Africa.

The assumption by the Crown of the direct responsibility for the government of the Straits Settlements was quickly followed by events which widened still farther the outlook of the administration. Under the old system, a policy of masterly inactivity had been followed in regard to the areas outside the actual possessions of the East India Company. The local populations were for the most part left to live their own lives without interference of any kind. The majority of the coast people, if not pirates were only one degree removed from the freebooter. From

time immemorial they had taken their toll of the sea in the natural exercise of their right to such largesse under

> "The good old rule,
> . . . . the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

The practice was inbred. So far from its being frowned on by Malay authority, the native potentates were often the chief offenders, to the extent that they directly sanctioned the piratical operations and derived a large proportion of their revenue from the proceeds of the various expeditions. The British naval force exerted a wholesome influence in the suppression of piracy in the immediate neighbourhood of the Settlements, but the evil remained in other directions, owing to the immunity from attack which the pirates enjoyed in their retreats in the various indentations and creeks which are a characteristic feature of the coast. They might have remained in undisturbed possession of their lairs a good many years longer than they did, but for the great development which took place in the later sixties in connection with the tin mines in the Larut district of Perak. The extensive operations for the extraction of the ore drew to Perak a large industrial population, mainly Chinese, whose presence in the Straits had a stimulating effect on British trade. Generally, there was a quickening of interest in the affairs of the Peninsula in consequence of the plain evidence which the mining operations furnished of the great potential wealth of the Malay States. Capital was invested liberally in enterprises in various directions, and notably in Selangor, where the prospects appeared to be particularly promising. The returns were large, but it soon became evident that

without a settled form of government no permanent commercial footing could be established. In Larut fierce faction fights between two antagonistic bodies of Chinese —the See Kwans and the Go Kwans—periodically paralysed industry, and kept the whole country in a condition of anarchy.

In Selangor a family feud, in which the local Sultan's three sons represented the opposition, led to perpetual turmoil, and placed the property of traders at the mercy of any body of marauders who might take a fancy to it. Following upon an especially daring act of piracy, in which some Selangor Malays were concerned, a British naval force, in 1871, bombarded the forts at the mouth of the Selangor River; but the punishment had little or no effect in improving the local situation, which was really only susceptible of amelioration by direct intervention. For such intervention the Malacca traders, through the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, pleaded, but they were rather brusquely told by the Government that "if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they are aware attends them in this country, it is impossible for the Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property." The Singapore commercial community made a fitting protest against the idea that the intolerable conditions under which British trade was conducted in Malaya was no affair of the Government's, and the authorities were soon compelled by force of circumstances to abandon the untenable position they had taken up. Their hand was forced, in the first instance, by a development of the disturbances in Selangor, which had drawn Rembau and Sungei Ujong, two States of the Negri Sembilan group, into the quarrel. The chief of the latter, threatened with attack by the Rembau prince, in

conjunction with the leader of one of the Selangor parties, directly invoked the aid of the authorities at Singapore, offering to place his State under British influence, in exchange for protection. Sir Henry Ord visited the scene of the disturbance in person in October, 1872, and patched up a settlement between the various conflicting parties. It was, however, a delusive peace that was reached, for scarcely had the Governor returned to Singapore than the trouble had broken out in a new and aggravated form. Meanwhile, members of the Chinese community were earnestly importuning the Government to extend the blessings of British rule to the peninsular districts. In a memorial which they sent in, they contrasted the peaceful conditions of Johore, which was directly under the eye of the British authorities, with the anarchy prevailing in the other States. The policy of non-intervention pursued by the Government, they remarked, might be in accordance with the views held by European Governments, but "its application to the half-civilised States of the Malay Peninsula (whose inhabitants are as ignorant as children) is to assume an amount of knowledge of the world, and an appreciation of the elements of law and justice, which will not exist amongst those Governments until your petitioners and their descendants of several generations have passed away." The memorialists concluded with these significant words: "We ask for no privileges or monopolies; all we pray of our most gracious Queen is that she will protect us when engaged in honest occupations; that she will continue to make the privilege of being one of her subjects the greatest that we can enjoy, and that by the counsel, advice, and enterprise of her representatives in this Colony she will restore peace and order again in those States so long connected with her country, not only by treaty engagements but by filial attachment, but which, in consequence

of the policy now pursued towards them, are rapidly returning to their original state of lawlessness and barbarism."

An appeal so pointed and so full of common sense could not be resisted by a Government, however disinclined it might be to shirk obvious responsibilities. Therefore, Major-General Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., the successor of Sir Harry Ord in the Straits Government, took out with him to Singapore at the close of 1873 definite instructions to make an important new departure in policy. The freshly appointed Governor was directed to ascertain as far as possible the actual condition of affairs in each State, and to report whether there were any steps which could properly be taken by the Colonial Government "to promote the restoration of peace and order, and to secure protection to trade and commerce within the native territories." A matter to which he was instructed to give especial attention was the advisability of appointing British officers to reside in the States, with the consent of the native rulers, and at the cost of the British revenues. The instructions practically conceded the whole point for which the Straits commercial community had long been contending. The intervention foreshadowed was not of a particularly bold kind, but it was intervention, and Singapore people were quite content to leave time to make it effective.

Sir Andrew Clarke arrived in the Straits to find a condition of affairs which called insistently for the application of the sanctioned authority. Anarchy at the time was rampant over a wide area of the coastal districts of the Peninsula. The Go Kwan and See Kwan quarrel had had a devastating influence on Perak, and had carried beyond the spirit of violent unrest which characterised it. Piracy had become more rife with the development of the trouble.

Owing to attacks on boats and junks near Province Wellesley, an expedition had been sent to the Larut River in September, 1872, and protracted operations had been necessary, in the later stages of which Captain T. C. Speedy, then port officer at Penang, had given his valuable aid. On all sides, indeed, were revealed the strongest proofs of the necessity of the application of a firm hand if the entire country was not to revert to barbarism. Sir Andrew Clarke, on a survey of the position, came to the sensible conclusion to send Mr. W. A. Pickering, an able official who had charge of Chinese affairs at Singapore, and was thoroughly trusted by the Chinese community, to the chief centre of the disturbances to see if the leaders would be prepared to accept his arbitration on their differences. Mr. Pickering discharged his mission with complete success. Through his agency a conference was arranged between the Governor on the one side and the Perak chiefs and the Chinese headmen on the other, on January 14, 1874, at Pangkor, an island off the Dindings, a tract of country to the south of Province Wellesley, which was ceded to the British Government in 1826. Sir Andrew Clarke made the utmost use of the excellent opening which was thus afforded him of extending British influence. The result of his journey was the conclusion, on June 20, 1874, of the Treaty of Pangkor, which is the legal foundation of the system of administering what to-day is known as the Federated Malay States. Its main principle is embodied in the following articles:—

"That the Sultan receive and provide a suitable residence for a British officer, to be called Resident, who shall be accredited to his Court, and whose advice must be asked and acted upon in all questions other than those touching Malay religion and customs.



THE SULTAN OF SELANGOR.

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"That the collection and control of all revenues and the general administration of the country be regulated under the advice of these Residents."

Thus, by a stroke of the pen, the British Government were committed to that active intervention in Malay affairs from which they and their predecessors had consistently shrunk from the earliest period of the British connection with the Straits. It was a bold action for a pro-consul to take without definite instructions from home, but Sir Andrew Clarke realised that no other course but an acceptance of responsibility was open if the British Government was not to be entirely discredited. He was enthusiastically supported in his policy by the best mercantile opinion in the Straits. A memorial, sent home by the Straits Settlements Association, expressed the view that the arrangement constituted "the most important step that has for many years been taken by the British Government in the Straits of Malacca," for it was not only valuable in itself, but involved principles "capable of a wide and beneficent extension in the neighbouring territories." It may be doubted whether the significance of the new move was so thoroughly grasped in Downing Street as in Singapore. The Straits of Malacca, in popular quarters, were still a mere geographical abstraction, and to the official mind they were associated mainly with measures for the suppression of piracy. There was, however, plenty of enlightenment ahead, not merely for the Government at home but for the authorities on the spot. The new *régime*, which was ushered in by a proclamation issued in November, 1874, started peacefully enough under the auspices of Mr. J. W. Birch, as Resident of Perak, Captain Speedy, as Assistant-Resident at Larut, and Mr. J. G. Davidson, and Mr. (now Sir) F. A. Swettenham, as Resident and Assistant-Resident, respectively, of

Selangor. The Malay chiefs accepted the supervision without enthusiasm, but with acquiescence, and the masses of the population were outwardly indifferent. Matters possibly would have continued on this footing for an indefinite period, if the chief British functionary could have contented himself with the *rôle* of a mere observer. But Mr. Birch was of too energetic a nature to sit down quietly amid a welter of misgovernment such as that with which he and his brother officials were confronted when they entered upon their duties. He set himself in resolute opposition to abuses which appeared to him to cry aloud for redress at his hands. In particular, he attacked the institution of debt-bondage, concerning which more will be said in a subsequent chapter. Of all Malay institutions, this was, perhaps, at that period at all events, the most typical, and it is not remarkable that the steps taken were bitterly resented by the chiefs, who probably regarded them as a distinct infraction of the clause of the treaty, exempting Malay religion and customs from the Resident's supervision. The attitude of sullen discontent at first assumed towards the Resident's measures ultimately gave place to an actively hostile movement. A conspiracy to encompass the objectionable innovator's death, set on foot by a few leading men, gained wide support. It slumbered for a time, awaiting a favourable opportunity for its execution. The opening came when Sir W. F. D. Jervois, Sir Andrew Clarke's successor in the Government of the Straits, introduced a sweeping change in the arrangements for dealing with the States, converting the Residents into Commissioners, and giving them a more tangible status as advisers to the chiefs. It was a well-meant but quite ill-advised extension of a control which, in the circumstances in which it was originally imposed, was necessarily imperfect. Sultan Abdullah of Perak accepted the new policy

with the greatest reluctance. Sir Frank Swettenham considers that it is doubtful whether he would ever have yielded if it had not been hinted to him none too obscurely that his refusal might lead to his deposition. Amongst the minor chiefs, the antagonism took a deeper and more sinister form. At a conference summoned by the Sultan Abdullah to announce the transfer of his authority to the British Resident, two chiefs, the Maharaja Lela and the Datò Sâgor, in emphatic language announced their intention of resisting the new decree, and of killing Mr. Birch if he went to their villages to enforce it. As events quickly showed, it was in no spirit of idle bravado that these declarations were made. True to their word, when Mr. Birch put in an appearance at the Maharaja Lela's village, and his assistants commenced to distribute the proclamations embodying the Governmental orders, they were furiously attacked by the Maharaja's men. Taken by surprise, Mr. Birch was speared to death as he sat in a building by the riverside, where he had taken up his quarters. The interpreter and two other members of the party were also killed; but Mr. Abbott, Mr. Birch's assistant, who was on the opposite bank of the river, and received timely warning of the attack, managed to escape.

The tragic episode created a tremendous sensation, as it was well calculated to do. At home the impression made was the deeper, because Sir William Jervois's measures had been taken entirely on his own initiative, and a vague fear was excited that his action had committed the Government to onerous responsibilities, the end of which could not be foreseen. A requisition for heavy reinforcements to punish the murderers of Mr. Birch and restore British influence elicited from Lord Carnarvon, the then Colonial Secretary, a sharp message of rebuke,

coupled with an intimation, that the troops "must not be employed for annexation or other political objects." Later in a despatch, Sir William Jervois was severely condemned for "the grave errors of policy and of action" of which he had been guilty, and was told that he had initiated the new policy in "lamentable forgetfulness" of the fact that he had no power whatever to introduce the change. In closing the discussion, Lord Carnarvon, in a despatch dated June 1, 1876, wrote sanctioning the continuance of the Residential system, and also approving a proposal that had been made for the institution of Councils of State in the Protected States. Long before this stage had been reached in the official controversy, active military measures had been afoot for the restoration of order in the disturbed area. An expedition composed of 2,000 troops, 1,500 of whom were British soldiers, aided by a strong Naval Brigade, was sent to Perak, under the command of Major-General the Hon. F. Colborne, C.B., and Brigadier-General John Ross. The force met with a stubborn resistance, and protracted operations were necessary before the country settled down under the British protectorate. The Maharaja Lela and his principal associates in the assassination of Mr. Birch were subsequently brought to justice at Larut, where at the hands of a specially appointed Commission they had meted out to them punishment in accordance with the degree of their criminality. The Maharaja Lela himself, with the Datò Sâgor and Pandok Indut, another chief who was active in the business, were condemned to death and executed. The Sultan Abdullah and several other prisoners of lesser importance were sent to the Seychelles under a sentence of lifelong exile. In this way not only was Mr. Birch avenged, but the lesson

was taught that British authority could not be flouted with impunity. How admirably effective the instruction was is reflected in the subsequent history of the States. From this period may be said to date the introduction of the *Pax Britannica* into Malaya. Though for some years there were isolated incidents to disturb the peace of British officials, the country as a whole acquiesced in the arrangement which brought them directly under the ægis of British control.

It was a happy circumstance that in the earliest days of the new order the duty of upholding British interests in the Malay States affected by the arrangements devolved upon wise and capable officials. The principal member of the little band was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hugh Low, an able officer, whose excellent services in Borneo had recommended him for the difficult post of acting as guide, philosopher, and friend at the somewhat drab Court of the Sultan of Perak. Personal influence has ever been a factor of supreme importance in the British control of alien races. The Oriental is peculiarly susceptible to those subtle qualities the exercise of which enables the stronger mind to sway the weaker and bend it to its will. Again and again in the history of the relations of Britain with the East we find one vigorous personality appearing at the opportune moment upon a troubled scene and changing the whole aspect of affairs by simple moral force. Sir Hugh Low well deserves to be included in this select band of successful Imperial pioneers. Before he had been long in Perak he had established himself in the confidence of the Sultan, and had won a not inconsiderable measure of popularity amongst the influential class of Malays. Tactful and considerate in all things, he gained his ends with a minimum of friction and an astonishing celerity,

having regard to the magnitude of the changes he brought about and their effect on the lives and interests of the inhabitants. The abolition of debt-slavery, which was the greatest of his reforms, in an especial manner redounded to his credit as an administrator. It went, as we have already pointed out, to the very root of Malay institutions, and affected nearly every family, yet the edict emancipating the slaves was almost universally accepted, and with the exception of one slight incident was carried into effect without trouble of any kind. An administration directed in this spirit could not fail, in the long run, to be a prosperous one. But even those best acquainted with the local possibilities of development were astonished at the rate of progress which the State maintained throughout Sir Hugh Low's term of service. When he retired in 1884, after eight years spent in the Residency at Perak, he was able to show a State revenue of $1,474,330, as against one of $213,419 when he took up his duties. The State at that time had a cash balance of $254,949, and was entirely free from liabilities, although no less a sum than $800,000 had been expended out of revenue in satisfaction of claims arising from the disturbances which brought about British intervention. Trade developed enormously under the fostering influence of Sir Hugh Low's administration. From 1876 to 1883 the imports grew from $813,375 to $4,895,940, and in the same period the exports increased from $739,970 to $5,625,335. Reckoned in sterling, the aggregate value of the trade was two millions. In Selangor, first under Mr. Davidson and, later, under Mr. Swettenham, progress less marked had been made; but, nevertheless, the administration there showed a sevenfold increase of revenue after twelve years. Taking the whole of the States under control at

the outset—Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong—the revenues increased from $560,997 in 1876 to $3,657,673 in 1888, and the expenditure in the same period mounted from $585,189 to $3,013,943.[1]

Rarely in so brief a space of time has such a change been worked in a country. The success achieved settled once and for all the question of British supremacy in the Malay Peninsula. Official attention was no longer directed to the problem of curtailing responsibilities, but to the more inspiriting issue of how best to consolidate the position that had been won by a judicious extension of them in suitable directions. In their mind's eye, far-seeing administrators at Singapore saw a Malay Peninsula from end to end and from Straits to China Sea under the undisputed domination of Britain, with railways piercing it in all directions, flourishing towns rising up in the interior, and great industries developing side by side with a splendid commerce. But that day they realised was not yet; nor was it likely to come in the very near future. The immediate task in hand was to build up a constitutional fabric which would facilitate the realisation of the conception. The introduction of Councils of State into the several States at an early stage in the working of the Residential system had prepared the ground for a further step forward. These bodies, on which there was a mixed representation of chiefs, local officials, and leading men, had had an excellent effect in accustoming the Malays to public affairs and removing prejudices which had hitherto existed against British intervention. Moreover, in the working of the arrangements the need had been felt for some connecting link which

[1] It is not convenient to give the sterling values of these figures, as the dollar had a fluctuating value down to 1906, when the rate of exchange was fixed at 2s. 4d.

would allow of effective co-operation in all that generally concerned their interests. This necessity had become more pressing with the growth of the list of States brought under the Residential system. In 1888 Pahang came into the system as the sequel to an unpleasant episode in which a British subject had been maltreated in the Sultan's territory. This addition appeared at first to be likely to give a set-back to the extension of British influence, for when Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. P. Rodger, the first Resident, took up his duties, he met with the open hostility of an important section of the inhabitants led by some minor chiefs. An expedition became necessary to establish the rights acquired under the treaty with the Sultan, and it was not until after a long and expensive campaign, in which the Assistant-Resident, Mr. (now Sir) Hugh Clifford, especially distinguished himself, that the adhesion of Pahang could be said to be an accomplished fact. Difficulties of another kind hindered for some years the full application of the Residential principle in the Negri Sembilan. But in 1895 the whole of the nine States coalesced under Tunku Mohamed, Yang di Pertuan of Sri Menanti, who, in his turn, accepted full British control.

Even before the agreement among the nine States had emphasised the steady development of British influence in the Peninsula, and had pointed to the necessity for a more comprehensive system of dealing with the territories, a scheme for the federation of the several States to which Residents were accredited had been drawn up by Sir Frank Swettenham, who then (in 1893) filled the position of Secretary for Malay Affairs in the Straits Government. Prolonged consideration was given to the proposals, and it was not until 1896 that the first definite step was taken by the issuing of instructions to Sir Charles Mitchell, the

successor of Sir Clementi Smith in the Government of the Straits Settlements, to report upon the feasibility and desirability of the suggested plan. Sir Charles Mitchell's verdict was a favourable one, but he insisted that federation must be carried out only with the approval of the ruling chiefs whose States were embraced in the scheme. Mr. Chamberlain, who was then Colonial Secretary in the Imperial Government, sanctioned the federation on these lines. The acceptance by the chiefs of the proposals followed almost as a matter of course. By this time the value of British control had been so clearly demonstrated that the Malay princes were ready to welcome cordially a measure which, while it left their individual status unaffected, was calculated to add to the dignity and prestige of Malay rule in the Peninsula. So, with a completeness of harmony which agreeably surprised Downing Street, the federal barque was launched, Sir Frank Swettenham being installed as Resident-General to pilot it through the difficult initial stage of its voyage.

Kuala Lumpur, in Selangor, then an insignificant place with apparently no future, was selected as the headquarters of the new federation. Fine public buildings soon commenced to spring up to testify to European and Asiatic alike that the new order had come to stay. Private enterprise was not slow to follow in official footsteps. The merchant and the planter found the centre a convenient one for their special requirements, and the humble trader was shrewd enough to grasp that this was peculiarly a case in which business would follow the flag. Their respective needs called for the establishment of judicial institutions and the other complicated machinery of our modern civilisation. In this way there has been called into being in the last seventeen years a new capital

well worthy to take its place amongst the leading cities of the Empire. The phenomenal growth of Kuala Lumpur is the touchstone of the success of the federation. In point of fact, there has never been any looking back since Sir Frank Swettenham, at a memorable conference held at Kuala Kangsar in July, 1897, got the chiefs around him and induced them to give the most warm-hearted and unequivocal send-off to the new system. That gathering, instinct with the new spirit which was working to convert the area which was once the home of a ruthless barbarism steeped in bloodshed and anarchy into a centre of ordered and enlightened government, was the predecessor of others which have brought the Malay princes into intimate contact with the problems of administration, and have aroused in them a genuine enthusiasm for progress on principles which have made the British Empire what it is.

For a thorough appreciation of the very striking progress that has been made in the Federated States since they were first brought under the full influence of British direction it is necessary to examine the official statistics which relate to the period. In the following tables will be found the salient facts bearing upon the administration of the States:—

	Area. Square Miles.	Population. Census, 1911.	Number to Square Mile.
Perak	7,800	494,057	63·34
Selangor	3,156	294,035	93·16
Negri Sembilan	2,550	130,199	51·05
Pahang	14,000	118,708	8·47

Year.	Revenue.		Expenditure.		Imports.		Exports.		Total Value.	
	$	£	$	£	$	£	$	£	$	£
1875	409,394 =	77,614	436,872 =	82,824	831,375 =	157,615	739,972 =	140,286	1,571,247 =	297,882
1880	881,910 =	166,277	794,944 =	149,880	2,231,048 =	420,646	1,906,952 =	359,540	4,138,000 =	780,185
1885	2,208,709 =	384,223	2,261,954 =	393,486	8,667,425 =	1,507,771	9,691,786 =	1,685,967	18,359,211 =	3,193,738
1890[1]	4,840,065 =	836,928	5,237,275 =	905,612	15,443,809 =	2,670,492	17,602,093 =	3,043,695	33,045,902 =	5,714,187
1895	8,481,007 =	901,107	7,582,553 =	805,646	22,653,271 =	2,406,910	31,622,805 =	3,359,923	54,276,076 =	5,766,833
1900	15,609,807 =	1,593,501	12,728,930 =	1,299,412	38,402,581 =	3,920,263	60,361,045 =	6,161,857	98,763,626 =	10,082,120
1905	23,964,593 =	2,471,349	20,750,395 =	2,139,884	50,575,455 =	5,215,594	80,057,654 =	8,255,946	130,633,109 =	13,471,539
1909	25,246,863 =	2,945,467	23,633,851 =	2,757,282	46,194,598 =	5,389,369	76,273,438 =	8,898,567	122,468,036 =	44,287,936
1910	26,553,018 =	3,097,852	23,598,610 =	2,753,171	53,255,151 =	6,213,101	102,851,990 =	11,999,398	156,107,141 =	18,212,499
1911	35,056,544 =	4,089,930	25,202,749 =	2,940,320	66,532,039 =	7,762,071	116,280,927 =	13,566,108	182,812,966 =	21,328,179

[1] 1880 and 1885 include Perak, Selangor, and Negri Sembilan only. From 1890 Pahang is included.

If there was ever romance in figures it is surely to be found in this table. From it will be seen the growth of the fabric of British administration in Malaya in all its splendid proportions. With its aid we may trace the phenomenal development of Malayan trade through years of an ever-ascending scale of prosperity until it has reached proportions which place the country in the very first rank of the colonial territories administered by the Crown. Circumstances associated with the growth of the world's commerce, it may be admitted, have favoured the material advancement of this noble heritage. But it is a moral certainty that without the strong guiding hand of Britain, the iron hand in the velvet glove, there would have been to-day no smiling peace and opulent prosperity in the Malay Peninsula, but instead internecine conflict and anarchy—it would have been a land groaning under the weight of a tyranny which was the more oppressive because of its inherent rottenness. When the last reckoning of all comes to be taken and the British Empire is weighed in the balance the wonderful figures quot
right

CHAPTER X

WIDENING THE AREA OF BRITISH INFLUENCE

Malay States outside the federal area—Siamese influence in Kedah—Siamese aggression in Trengganu—The French attack on Siam—Its effect on the situation in the Malay Peninsula—Revival of Siamese pretensions—The Duff Development Company in Kelantan—Its origin—Mr. W. A. Graham appointed adviser to the Sultan of Kelantan—Treaty with Siam transferring Siamese rights in Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu to Great Britain—New agreement defining the position of the Duff Development Company in Kelantan.

FAR-REACHING as has been the moral and political influence, and magnificent as are the material results of the federal system in British Malaya, a glance at the map accompanying this volume will show that the system of direct British control at present extends over only a portion—and that by no means the largest portion—of the Malay Peninsula. To the north, situated outside the federation area, are the States of Kedah and of Perlis, with which our readers have been familiarised by the events described in the earlier chapters when Light was pegging out claims for posterity. Lying to the east of these, with a strip of coast on the north-east side of the Peninsula, is the great area of Kelantan, another of the non-federal States. On the eastern side of Kelantan, with a more extensive outlook on the China Sea, is a fourth State—Trengganu—with which we have not yet reckoned. Finally, in the south, with a territory extending from

Malacca, Negri Sembilan and Pahang to the southern extremity of the Peninsula, is Johore, a State which, though it has been directly associated with British administration in the Straits ever since its ruler handed us over the title-deeds of Singapore, is not included in the Federated States. These five territories combined occupy an immense area, much of which is not merely unsurveyed, but is quite untraversed country as far as Europeans are concerned owing to the jealousy with which the native rulers in the past have regarded the intrusion of foreigners into their possessions.

Politically, the whole of this great tract has long been regarded by those administering the Straits government as lying within the British sphere of influence, but British claims up to a quite recent period were seriously discounted by the pretensions of Siam to exercise a qualified suzerainty over the more northern States. Siamese power was at one time undoubtedly a very real influence in the northern portions of the Malay Peninsula. When the East India Company's rule in the Straits was first established, there were clear traces of the connection. What the precise character of the relations was is seen in the following extract from a communication which Light sent to the Government in Calcutta soon after the occupation of Penang:—

" It does not appear either by writings or traditions that Queda was ever governed by the Siamese laws or customs. There would have been some remains had there been any affinity between them. The people of Queda are Mahometans: their letter Arabic and their language Java. Their kings originally came from Minacabo on Sumatra, but as Queda was very near Ligore, a kingdom of Siam, they sent every third year a gold and silver tree as a token of homage to Ligore. This was done to preserve a good

correspondence; for at this period the Siamese were very rich and numerous, but no warriors, and a considerable trade was carried on between Queda and Ligore. After the destruction of Siam, the King of Ava demanded the token of homage from Queda, and received the gold and silver tree, and when Pea Tach drove away the Burmese and built a new city in Siam the King of Queda sent the tree to Siam; and has kept peace with both, paying homage sometimes to one and sometimes to the other and often to both."

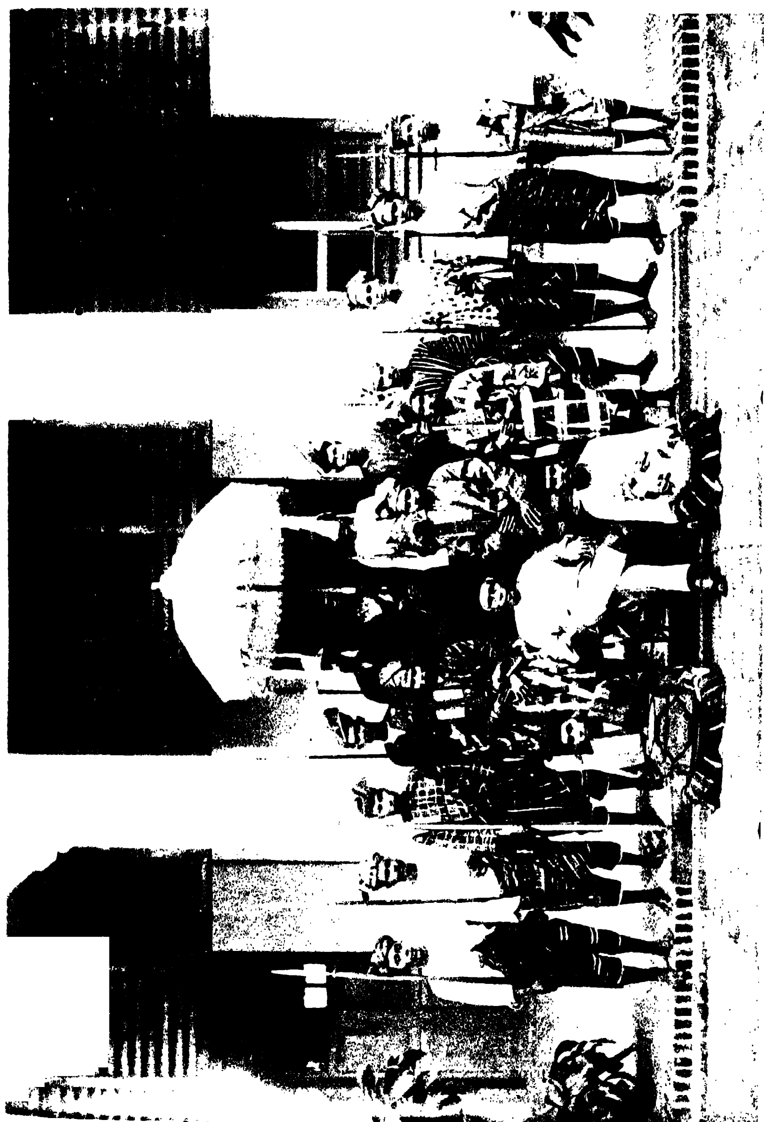
Light went on to state that the fact that the Sultan of Kedah had faced both ways came to the knowledge of Siam, and had led to a threat that Kedah should be attacked and destroyed. "The King of Queda," he added, "has reason to be afraid of such a tyrant, and I should not be surprised at his offering to sacrifice this new Settlement to the avarice of the King of Siam if requested."

Light's statement probably represents with a fair degree of accuracy the character of the tie which bound Kedah to Siam. The flowers of silver and gold, or the *Bunga Mas*, as the offering was known, were a symbol of the subjection of the sender, but it was a subjection which was qualified by the extent of the coercive power which could be exercised by the recipient.[1] In some cases and at some periods the influence exercised was so shadowy as to be almost formal; in other instances and at other times it amounted to a practical suzerainty. As far as Kedah and

[1] Much controversy has arisen at different times relative to the precise significance of the *Bunga Mas*, or, as it is perhaps more correctly described, the *Bunga Amas*. Mr. (now Sir) Hugh Clifford, in his interesting "Report on the Expedition to Trengganu and Kelantan," strongly insists that it was merely "a token of alliance and friendship." Such it may have been in later days, but it is evident from the facts cited in the text that in the eighteenth century it was much more than a voluntary offering dictated by amity.

Siam are concerned, the association was marked by more than the common vicissitudes attaching to these eastern connections. But it seems probable from the records that at the time of the negotiations which preceded the acquisition of Penang the Sultan of Kedah was distinctly under Siamese domination. A piece of evidence which throws light on the point is a statement made by Mr. Monckton, who conducted the first abortive negotiations for a cession of territory with the Sultan of Kedah, and whose account of the mission appears in Chapter IV. It will be recalled that the Sultan at the final interview intimated that he could not make the grant of a site for a Settlement because the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom. The mention made by the Sultan of the necessity imposed upon him of "obeying orders" is inconsistent with the contention afterwards advanced that Kedah owed no allegiance to Siam. It is, however, an undoubted fact that the East India Company treated with the Sultan as an independent prince, and that in doing so they accepted the responsibilities which their recognition of the chief imposed upon them of seeing that, in accordance with Article 3 of the treaty ceding Penang, he was not made a sufferer by his action. How ill they performed their part of the bargain the subsequent history of Kedah shows. After many threatenings, the Siamese, in 1821, attacked Kedah from the sea, and having effected a landing laid waste the country after their peculiarly barbarous fashion. In vain the Sultan appealed to the Company for assistance. The only concession that was made him was the right of asylum at Penang.

Meanwhile, the victorious Siamese extended their conquest southward as far as Selangor, and were only restrained from falling on that State as they had already done on Kedah and Perak by the determined attitude



taken up by the local ruling chief. Ultimately they withdrew their forces to Ligore, from whence the expedition had emanated. Mr. John Anderson, in his famous pamphlet "Considerations on the Conquest of Quedah and Perak by the Siamese," expressed the opinion that the Siamese at the period contemplated the total conquest of the Peninsula, and the subversion of the Mohammedan religion. Raffles inclined to the same view, and in 1823 addressed a letter to the Supreme Government in Calcutta urging, in earnest language, the necessity of the adoption of a strong policy in dealing with the Siamese. "I am satisfied," he wrote in the course of this communication, "that if instead of deferring to them so much as we have done in the case of Kedah we had maintained a higher tone and declared the country to be under our protection, they would have hesitated to invade that unfortunate territory. Having, however, been allowed to indulge their rapacity in this instance with impunity, they are encouraged to similar acts towards the other States of the Peninsula, and, if not timely checked, may be expected in a similar manner to destroy the truly respectable State of Tringanu on the eastern side of the peninsula." The Indian authorities, reluctant as ever to accept responsibility in Malaya, turned a deaf ear to Raffles's wise counsels. Instead of boldly opposing Siamese designs, they sent Captain Burney to Bangkok to negotiate with the Government there on the basis of a division of power. In the result, there was concluded on June 20, 1826, a treaty accepting the conquest of Kedah as an accomplished fact and compromising other disputed points. Practically, the treaty gave the Siamese a firm foothold in the Peninsula where they had previously only exercised influence on a precarious tenure. To that extent it was a blunder, and one of a type which

was bound to have unp t consequences as years went by.

From time to time the cramping effects of the treaty were felt by the British administration of the Straits, but in view of the necessity of keeping on good terms with Siam owing to the extension of British influence in Burma nothing was done to regain the freedom of action which should never have been sacrificed. In 1862, when Siam showed a disposition to encroach on the sphere exclusively allotted to Britain under the Burney Treaty by imposing a creature of its own on the people of Trengganu as ruler, the British Government, however, were stimulated to take action for the protection of their rights. Colonel Orfeur Cavenagh, who at that time was Governor of the Straits Settlements, on hearing of the intended act of aggression, promptly sent a vigorous remonstrance to Bangkok against the projected interference, and when, later on, a disposition was shown to disregard this, he despatched a naval force to Trengganu to enforce his views. This determined attitude ultimately secured the withdrawal of Siam's nominee—the ex-Sultan of Lingga—but the episode left an unpleasant impression of the ambitions which were entertained at Bangkok. It was made clear by the Siamese Government's action that they aspired not only to influence the northern States, in which their interests were acknowledged to be predominant, but also the more southern territories, which were admittedly independent. Colonel Cavenagh, in the despatch which he forwarded to Calcutta describing the incident, made an interesting reference to the political position of Trengganu. He described the State as "an independent principality," whose independence, with that of Kelantan, had been mutually guaranteed by the provisions of Article 12 of the treaty of 1826. "Even as far

back as 1785," he wrote, "the Sultan of Trengganu has been in direct communication with the British authorities in the Straits, and has on one or two occasions actually solicited their aid to enable him to resist the Siamese when threatened by attack: he has at all times been recognised as an independent chief, and neither in 1850, when he despatched an embassy to Java with a view of cultivating friendly relations with the Dutch, nor in 1851, when his treatment of some British subjects became the matter of investigation, were any pretensions to exercise the slightest control over his proceedings or to interfere on his behalf advanced by the Siamese Government." Colonel Cavenagh might have put the title to British influence even stronger than he did. He dates the connection of the British with the affairs of the State back to 1785; but actually it commenced in 1772, when Mr. Monckton, the East India Company's envoy to Kedah, having failed to come to terms with the Sultan of that State about a British Settlement, proceeded to Trengganu after paying a visit *en route* to Rhio. The record of the interview which took place between the Sultan of Trengganu and Monckton on the occasion is of some interest in connection with the question of the long duration of the British connection with the State. The prince expressed his willingness to let the Company have Settlements in any part of his territories, if the Calcutta Government would lend him their aid in recovering the stretch of coast as far as Johore, which he claimed to belong to him. "I told him," wrote Monckton, "that in case they [the Government] were to accept a grant from him they would only engage to protect the dominions he then possessed." On these terms the Sultan refused to deal, and, finding that he could do nothing further, Monckton re-embarked on September 11, 1772.[1]

[1] "Sumatra Records," vol. xv.

It is interesting to speculate what would have been the effect on British development in Malaya if the offer of 1772 had been accepted. Possibly there would have been no Singapore and no Penang to-day. On the other hand, it is quite as conceivable that the entire Malay Peninsula would long since have been coloured red.

After the rebuff at Trengganu, the Siamese did not venture again openly to interfere in the States outside their recognised zone. They were content to intrigue insidiously against British influence whenever and wherever it might be asserted in the non-federated States. In this indefinite fashion, events might have proceeded for a long time had not France, in 1884, been seized with a desire for territorial expansion in the East at the expense of Siam. The project then put forward was nullified by the British conquest of Upper Burma, but the matter was revived in 1889, when M. Waddington, the then French Ambassador in London, approached Lord Salisbury with a proposal for the delimitation of the boundaries of Siam with a view to its constitution as a buffer state between the French possessions in the North and the British possessions and dependencies in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. Lord Salisbury agreed in principle, but represented that there were a great many points of detail to be considered before any further step could be taken. After this, the question was referred to the India Office, then presided over by Lord Cross. In the result, independent negotiations were opened up with Siam, leading to the appointment of a boundary commission, composed of British and Siamese officers, for the delimitation of the Siamese frontier where it marched with British territory. A similar commission was appointed in 1890 by the French Government for the delimitation of the districts bordering on Indo-China.

In 1892 the French Government again mooted the question of an arrangement in regard to Siam, based on a pledge that neither country should extend its influence beyond the Mekong. To this proposal the British Government, acting on the suggestion of the authorities in India, declined to assent. Once more, in 1893, the French Government made an effort to come to an understanding; and then, meeting with yet another refusal, it proceeded to adjust its differences with Siam in its own way. In July, 1893, a blockade of the lower valley of the Menam was established, greatly to the consternation of traders, whose interests were jeopardised by the confusion into which affairs were thrown by the aggressive French action. At one time, owing to incidents arising out of the operations, relations between Great Britain and France became strained almost to the breaking-point. Happily, however, war was averted, and a peace was ultimately concluded in which both Governments were able to acquiesce, though Siam was shorn of a great extent of territory and was compelled to pay a heavy indemnity. Following upon the Franco-Siamese arrangement came, in 1896, an agreement between Great Britain and France in which the contracting parties defined their respective spheres of influence, and bound themselves not to encroach beyond them.

Although the Franco-Siamese imbroglio, with its sequelæ of diplomatic arrangements, mainly affected the northern portion of the Siamese dominions and the contiguous areas, the effect of the final understanding was to bring into sharp relief Great Britain's claims to a predominant influence in the Malay Peninsula. On the principle that it is best to let sleeping dogs lie, the Government did not immediately seek actively to extend that influence beyond the limits which had long been

marked out. The policy of the Foreign Office, indeed, for a time appeared to be to minimise rather than to exaggerate the advantages which the situation conferred. This was more particularly shown in their benevolent attitude towards a revival of Siamese activity in Kelantan and Trengganu which followed the conclusion of the understanding. The political status of these two States was clearly defined by Article 12 of the treaty of 1826, to which Colonel Cavenagh had so pointedly alluded in the passage from his despatch already quoted. By the terms of that article, Great Britain agreed not to molest, attack, or disturb these States in any way whatever, but it was stipulated that British subjects should have the same facility as they had hitherto enjoyed for communication, trade, and intercourse with the States. This Article 12 was in contradistinction to Article 11 of the same treaty, detailing the limitations of British subjects in Patani, which had been acquired by war by the Siamese. In effect, the treaty made it clear that while Patani was a dependency of Siam, Kelantan and Trengganu were independent States. The provisions of the subsequent treaty, concluded in 1854, with Siam left untouched the status of these last-named areas. In the circumstances, it was clearly the duty of our Government to resist all fresh Siamese pretensions to interference as firmly as Colonel Cavenagh did in 1862, when the attempt was made on the independence of Trengganu. But the home authorities, with a perhaps excessive desire to consolidate the excellent relations which had been established with the Bangkok Government during the troubles with France, adopted a line which was calculated to undermine the whole position created by the treaty. In 1895, when the expedition headed by Mr. (now Sir) Hugh Clifford, to which reference has been made, was

sent into Trengganu and Kelantan to hunt down the Pahang rebels who had taken refuge there, the Siamese Government were allowed to send Commissioners to accompany the expeditionary force. Nominally, the functionaries were appointed to aid the British operations, but actually they used their utmost influence to thwart and impede Mr. Clifford and his party in every way. They proclaimed to the local Malays, who had no idea of the relative strength of Great Britain and Siam, that Siam was the stronger power, that Siam was the suzerain of the two States, and that the suzerainty had been recognised by Great Britain. There was, as will have been gathered from what has been stated, no real foundation for this assertion. Its sole justification was that Kelantan and Trengganu had forwarded to Siam periodically the *bunga mas*. In this instance, as in many others, the symbolical offering had been made purely as a token of friendship—as a gift from a weak State to a stronger to secure immunity from aggression. It was probably a relic of the period when the Siamese swooped down upon Kedah and Perak and established a reputation for barbarous warfare which caused the whole of the Malay States to stand in awe of them. Whatever its origin, it ought not to have been permitted to influence the British Government to the extent of acquiescing in Siamese interference in the affairs of Kelantan. Circumstances had been so changed by British development in other parts of the Peninsula, as well as by the course of events in Siam itself, that there was ample justification for a policy which would completely free the two States from every vestige of outside interference. The opening, however, was weakly given, and though the error was afterwards retrieved, it is impossible not to reflect that for a time the ideal of a Malay

Peninsula entirely under British influence was seriously jeopardised.

Mr. Hugh Clifford's hunt after rebels in Kelantan served the good purpose of bringing into prominence the splendid possibilities of that sunny land. Amongst those who accompanied the expedition was Mr. R. W. Duff, an official of the Federated Malay States Police Force, who, to sound administrative qualities, added a business acumen of exceptional type. Mr. Duff, having spied out the land in the course of his enforced peregrinations after the elusive rebels, saw that it was good. He was struck not so much by its productiveness—though the land is in places very fertile—as by the illimitable possibilities for development of all kinds inherent in its vast and largely unoccupied expanses. His impressions he carried away with him to meditate over in the intervals of leisure left by his official duties. Soon there matured in his brain a definite scheme for the exploitation of the natural riches of Kelantan. It was not, however, until 1900 that he was able to make a definite move towards the realisation of his design. In February of that year, when he was filling the post of District Officer in Ulu Selangor, he was invalided out of the service and proceeded home, prepared to make the best use of his "position of greater freedom and less responsibility." Like many other pioneers before him, Mr. Duff found the road to the acceptance of his scheme steep and stony indeed. That scheme was simple enough. It was merely to make use of the golden opening which appeared to offer in Kelantan. But instead of trade following the flag Mr. Duff hoped to prove that, in favourable circumstances, the flag follows the trade. In plain words, he proposed to obtain a concession to trade in Kelantan which would be an instrument not only

for commercial profit but for the aggrandisement of his country. In the city of London he succeeded in interesting a half-dozen business men in his project, with the result that a syndicate was formed to exploit Kelantan. The combination came into existence without any of the usual paraphernalia of a company. The only thing in the nature of a prospectus was a statement prepared by Mr. Duff, sketching the possibilities of the country. Gold, it was stated in this document, was to be found in Kelantan as well as tin, but Mr. Duff confessed his inability to say whether the deposits would repay working, though he pointed out that the efforts made repeatedly by Singapore merchants to obtain mining concessions in the State indicated that there was something to be got out of mineral enterprise there. Political difficulties, combined with the bad government of the State, had hitherto stood in the way of development, but the writer intimated his belief that he could overcome all obstacles if he were given the opportunity. Mr. Duff's unadorned and matter-of-fact declaration did its work effectually. In a short time he had a backing of £10,000 wherewith to prosecute his scheme. The financial obstacles overcome, Mr. Duff now had to face the political situation. It was formidable enough. As a preliminary to active operations, he went to the Foreign Office, and inquired whether the gift of land in Kelantan was in the hands of the Siamese or of the Sultan. He was told by the officials there that they did not know, but that it would be courteous on his part to go to the Siamese Government first.

What afterwards happened is, perhaps, best related in Mr. Duff's own words, as used in the course of a narrative of the history of his venture supplied at the request of the authors: "I knew perfectly well," he said, "that the land

was in the gift of the Sultan, but I asked for letters to the British Minister at Bangkok, and, complying with the wishes of the Foreign Office, I went to Bangkok. I found the greatest difficulty in getting anything done there. Eventually, I got an interview with Prince Damrong, the Minister for the Interior. He received me in a very rude manner, telling me that the British were now in Pretoria, and that I had better go there and obtain concessions. After a time he got more amenable, and told me that the gift of land in Kelantan was in the hands of the King of Siam. I said, 'Very well; probably the King of Siam will give me a concession.' He replied that that was impossible, because the question of land tenure was being gone into by the Siamese Government, and that no concessions would be granted as injustice might be done to the natives. After some further conversation I told him that in the meantime I proposed to go to Kelantan to select land and would subsequently apply for a title for it. I was told it would not be allowed, because the state of the country was such that no white man could travel there with safety, and they were afraid that if I were murdered they would be held to blame by the British Government. My reply was that I would give a letter of indemnity, but that I proposed to go to Kelantan in spite of what he had said. When the Prince and his associates urged that I could not go, I referred them to the treaty of 1826, and insisted that I had the right to go. Then Prince Damrong said the King of Siam was very anxious about me, and asked me to take a Siamese passport and a Siamese Commissioner with me. This I refused, on the ground that my work would necessitate secrecy. Then they gave me a letter, stating that the Commissioner would be under my orders, that he would be there only to protect me, and that he would not interfere with me or spy upon me in any way.



THE SULTAN OF KELANTAN.

To face. p. 154.

I said, 'Very well, I will take a Commissioner,' and that I did not require a passport. As the British Minister insisted I should have a passport, I took one, and gave out that I was returning to Singapore, and that I would start for Kelantan about the beginning of August. They asked me to telegraph ten clear days before entering Kelantan, so that the Commissioner would be there awaiting me. I came to the conclusion that if I took this man with me I should have no chance of getting any concession; so when I wired the date I would be there I omitted to point out the fact that there were two ways of getting to Kelantan. They sent a man to Kota Bahru to meet me, but I went to Kuala Lipis and walked across the hills, taking a mining engineer with me. I had already provided myself with letters from the Sultan to the various chiefs, telling them to give me all the assistance possible; and when the Siamese Commissioner arrived at Kota Bahru he did not know that I was already in the country. I had spent a couple of months there making a general survey, and I left for Kota Bahru to meet the Commissioner, leaving the engineer up the Galas River. When I got to Kota Bahru, I found the Sultan had prepared a house for me, and when I had taken up my quarters in it, he sent me a meal, stating at the same time that it would be the only cooked food he could give me, as he could not be sure of what might be put into my future meals. On interviewing the Sultan, I found him greatly terrified. When I asked him whether the gift of land was in his hands or in the hands of the King of Siam, he told me to ask the Commissioner, who was present, and who said it lay with the King of Siam. I made arrangements to meet the Commissioner the next day, but that night I got a message from the Sultan to come and see him, before I saw the Commissioner, at half-past two in the

morning, and to go disguised as a Malay. I agreed to meet him at the appointed hour, but refused to dress as a Malay. When I called, I found the house lit by a little torch. The Sultan was gibbering with terror. He told me the Siamese Commissioner had been at him for some weeks past, and that the whole State of Kelantan was to be alienated in some four or five blocks to Chinese, who were in partnership with Siamese officials, and that the document was to be signed that day. He was of opinion that if the document was not signed he would be taken to Bangkok and beheaded. I told him he was on no account to sign this document, that Siam had no power to attack him, and to leave the matter to me. He then asked me to take over the whole country. This I refused to do, because I knew I would get no support from the British Government; but the next day I went round to see the Commissioner and told him what I had learned. I told him the Siamese had no right to behave in this way, and that I was writing to tell the Governor at Singapore, and that if anything at all happened to the Sultan I would know who to blame for it. I then left, saying I was going up-stream to prospect.

"I had not had the intention of taking over such a large piece of territory as we subsequently acquired (some 3,000 square miles), but when the Sultan told me I should go for all the unalienated land I could get, and when I found from the mining engineer that he had located some very good finds, I decided on the land I wanted, which was very nearly the whole of the interior of Kelantan. While I was in the interior the Siamese Commissioner appointed to my force dogged my steps. To test him I said, 'You have disobeyed orders according to the letter that was given me in Bangkok, and I am going down to report you to Prince Damrong,' and he

replied that his orders were not to let me out of his sight. I said, 'To-morrow morning I am going to Kota Bahru. Mr. Chappel is going up-river. You can choose what you intend to do—stay with him or come down with me.' There was someconversation as to what the Malay chiefs were to do. I showed them the Sultan's 'chop,' telling them to go with Mr. Chappel, and the Siamese Commissioner came down to Kota Bahru with me.

"I then started negotiating for a title for the land. The title I got was a partnership agreement with the Sultan. It was necessary at that time, owing to the absence of any recognised form of Government, to acquire very comprehensive administrative powers, if the company was to do any good at all. It could not have worked without acquiring these powers, and therefore the Sultan handed over to me the whole of the administrative powers in the interior. (The Sultan was not the same as the chief who was in power in 1895. There had been two rulers in between—Sultan Tingah and Sultan Mansur—both of whom had died suddenly.) Subject to this agreement, we were to have the powers of legislation and taxation. The compact was signed on October 10, 1900.

"In addition to our administrative powers, we acquired the sole commercial rights of every description. There were no lawyers. The Malay language does not lend itself to legal accuracy. The original document was in Malay, and was translated by me into English. The purchase price given to the Sultan in consideration of the concession was £2,000, and he got in addition two hundred shares in the syndicate, which eventually became two thousand shares in the company.

"Whilst these negotiations were going on—I was conducting them with the Sultan and his State Council—the Siamese knew nothing of these transactions. The

agreement was duly signed and sealed. I still had to prove my title as a good one, so I went to the Siamese Commissioner then, and told him that I had been entirely misled by Prince Damrong and the Commissioner himself who had informed me that the gift of land was vested in the King of Siam. I had found on coming into the country that the gift was in the hands of the Sultan and that the Siamese were aware of this when they instigated the Chinese to apply for land and were trying to force the Sultan to sign titles practically over the whole of the State. Therefore, as the Siamese had deliberately misled me and caused me expense, I would now return to Europe and would lay the matter before the Foreign Office in London, and would seek to recover damages against the Siamese Government. I wrote to Prince Damrong in similar terms. I also complained of the breach of orders by the Commissioner. I then came home. The Siamese thought they had bluffed me, and that no more would be heard of the subject. When I went to the Foreign Office, I told them what had happened, showed them my title, and asked for their support. This they refused to give me. They said Great Britain was on friendly terms with Siam, and would do nothing. I waited, and fortunately, a few weeks later, I got the reply from Bangkok which I hoped I would get. In this letter the Siamese authorities stated that they were extremely sorry to hear that the Siamese Commissioner had not carried out his instructions—they had actually issued them!—but it was owing to a misunderstanding on his part. In regard to my statement that I had been informed that the gift of land was in the hands of the King of Siam, they could not conceive how I got that misapprehension. The gift of land was undoubtedly in the hands of the Sultan, and if I had made a mistake, it

was mine, and they could not be called upon to pay for it.

"I wrote back at once and told them I did not know how it had occurred, but I was glad to learn that the document I had fortunately secured proved to be valid. Then I went to the Foreign Office: I produced my letter from Bangkok, and showed them a copy of the reply I had sent, and asked for protection in carrying out the work of the concession. I was asked to meet certain high Foreign Office officials, who said they would have a letter written to the British Minister at Bangkok which would settle the matter. In this letter they merely proposed to state that I had obtained some sort of title, and that I intended to go out and work the concession, and they trusted the Minister would give me proper assistance. I said that letter would not be of any use to me. They replied they could do nothing more. I said to them that when I embarked on this venture I told them who I represented, that we had money to carry out the projected work, and that I had got a valid title because the Power that claimed a suzerainty over Kelantan had admitted that it was valid, and the Foreign Office now stated it would not give me support. When I started this work I knew that there was a difference of opinion between the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office as to the status of Kelantan, and that I had also known or believed that both departments were satisfied that a danger existed in the establishment of foreign commercial interests in the Middle Peninsula which would justify a foreign Power in asserting a political influence there. I said I had apparently been quite wrong in forming this opinion, and that it was evident the British Government did not look upon it as a danger, and they did not think it desirable to protect British enterprise in Kelantan. Therefore, I said, I

proposed now to float my company not in London, but in Paris and St. Petersburg, but thought I would ask for the assurance of the British Government before doing anything.

"I was then asked to sit down—we had been standing up to this point—and I was there for upwards of two hours instead of two minutes. The upshot was that a promise was made that I would have the support of the British Foreign Office if I established my company in Kelantan.

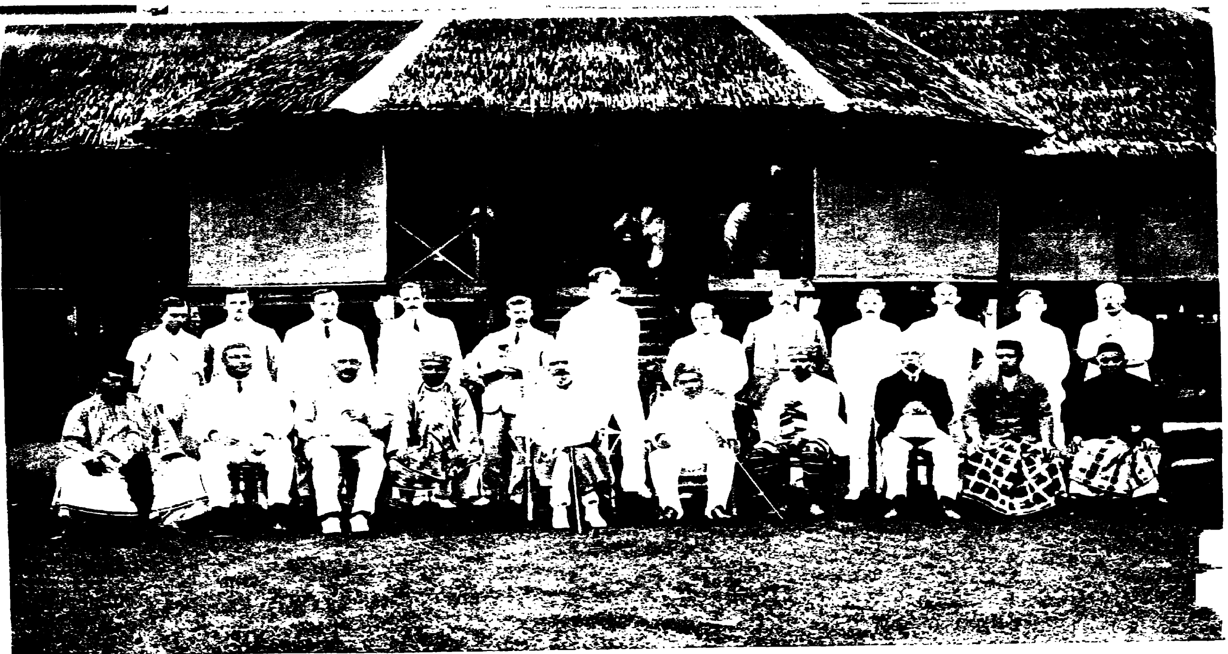
"They gave their support, but not as I would have liked. They asked me to go out to Bangkok and secure the ratification of the King of Siam. I demurred at this because if he had no power to ratify the title we were only forcing upon him a power he had never possessed. However, I went out to Kelantan early in 1901. Several Europeans accompanied me, some of them having already had experience in the Malay Peninsula. We opened our headquarters at Kuala Lebir, and started to prospect and to administer the affairs of the country. We abolished the poll-tax and began the administration of justice. The natives were delighted with the changes that were effected, and from then till now we have had no trouble with the people. The Siamese Commissioner remained at Kota Bahru with a force of soldiers. It became perfectly evident in 1902 that he was doing everything in his power to reduce British influence in the State, and, in fact, he was evading the terms of the Treaty. Amongst other things, he forced the Sultan to increase the import duties for all imports coming from the Straits Settlements and the south and to abolish them on all imports from Bangkok and the north, on the ground that Kelantan was a Siamese dependency. That was absolutely contrary to the Treaty. At the request of Mr. Chamberlain, I kept

the British Government informed of what was going on. In consequence of a particular happening, referred to at the time as 'The Kelantan Affair,' which created some excitement in Europe, the British Government sent Sir Frank Swettenham to Kelantan at the end of 1902, and eventually an agreement was signed by the Sultan recognising the suzerainty of the King of Siam, but limiting the powers of the suzerain. At the same time, a British officer was appointed by the King of Siam, approved of by the British Government, to reside at Kota Bahru to advise the Sultan, and the Sultan undertook in the agreement to act on the advice given to him. In July, 1903. Mr. W. A. Graham, who had been in the Siamese service for some time, went to reside at Kota Bahru as Adviser."

Such in interesting outline is the story of the genesis and growth of this modern Malayan prototype of the old trading company of the last and the preceding centuries. It is a record whlch shows that the spirit of adventure which has stood our Empire in such good stead at different periods of our history is still a living force, ready to respond to the mingled call of private interest and patriotism as it sounds its note in some promising situation. Mr. Duff, like most pioneers, appears to have had a full share of checks and disappointments. It is doing him no injustice probably to say that he quite expected them when he started on his mission, for there was an element in his designs which was, sooner or later, bound to challenge opposition. A controverted concession is perhaps of all things the most debateable. In the past, nothing has bred more contentions between the Chancelleries, nothing has caused a more copious flow of official ink. Therefore, when Mr. Duff threw himself, with all the vigour of a modern commercial gladiator, into the arena

of Kelantan—a land of obscure political associations and ill-defined status in the nicely balanced system of the Middle East—it is not surprising that Whitehall was not exactly effusive. The official calm was disturbed by such pushfulness. Moreover, the intrusion into Kelantan, as it was regarded, was calculated to breed bad blood between Great Britain and Siam, and the Foreign Office had reasons which appeared to it to be adequate for wishing to remain on good terms with that Power, more especially as the disturbed condition of the international horizon consequent upon the South African War made it imperative that we should walk warily at the period. Nevertheless, it is made fairly clear by the narrative of events that if Mr. Duff had not striven in the fashion he did the Foreign Office might still have been content to regard Kelantan as out of bounds politically, if not commercially. It was his prompting and probing which, in the first instance, brought the question of the State's future on the tapis, and which in its later phases, as we shall see farther on, secured the consummation of the all-red policy which far-seeing British administrators in the Straits, from Raffles onwards, had long worked for.

As was, perhaps, inevitable, the new *régime* introduced in 1903 in Kelantan did not work smoothly. There were inherent in the situation jarring elements which sooner or later were bound to come into collision. On the one hand was the natural official tendency to recover the lost grip of the administration; on the other was the equally natural disinclination to abate one jot the privileges and rights which had been conferred. The position altogether was as unsatisfactory as it could be, and its dangers were accentuated when it became known that the Siamese were favouring the construction with German money of a railway which was to run from Bangkok to the



HIGH COMMISSIONER'S VISIT TO KELANTAN, 19[illegible]

Back Row [illegible] Lieut. [illegible] R.A. [illegible] Capt. [illegible] R.M.L.I. [illegible] A.D.C. [illegible] Mr. W. G. [illegible] Mr. R. W. D[illegible] Mr. W. [illegible] Capt. Douglas D.A.A.G. Dr. Smart, Mr. W. H. [illegible] Asst. Adviser, Mr. A. F. [illegible] Mr. R. A. Kern.

Front Row [illegible] Sayid Yassin, Commander [illegible] R.N. [illegible] T. [illegible] Tungku [illegible] H.E. [illegible] (High Commissioner), Tungku Sri Maha Raja Sayid Hassan, Sir W. Taylor K.C.M.G. (Resident-General, F.M.S.), Dato' Sri [illegible] Dato' [illegible] Sri.

Federated Malay States. The line was to be of a different gauge to that of the British Malayan Railways, and was to be officered by German engineers. The scheme had gone so far that a tracing of the line had actually been made when the matter was brought to the notice of the Foreign Office in 1907. There was, for a time, some hesitation in exalted official quarters as to whether the bold and safe course should be pursued of bringing Kelantan under our protection; but at length the Whitehall authorities were forced by the logic of an increasingly dangerous state of affairs to enter into negotiations with Siam for the transfer of whatever rights she had in the State. To make a complete business of it, Kedah and Trengganu were included in the negotiations. It seemed at one time that an arrangement was not possible, but ultimately the offer of a renunciation by the British Government of the right of extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam, in exchange for territorial concessions, proved irresistible to the Siamese Government, and on March 10, 1909, a treaty was signed transferring to Great Britain all Siam's rights over Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis, and the adjacent islands. Following upon the completion of the formal arrangement, Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, in July visited Kelantan to announce the assumption of the protectorate by the British. The position there was of such an anomalous character that a further step was deemed necessary to the establishment of the administrative position on proper lines. After protracted negotiations, the Government, about the middle of 1912, entered into an agreement with the Duff Development Company in respect of their rights under the concession from the Sultan. Under the terms of this instrument the existing

agreement of the Company with the Sultan, dated May 28, 1905, is to be cancelled on December 31, 1912, and the Company will also surrender to the Government its existing agreements of lease over the area of 50,000 acres of agricultural land which it now holds. In consideration of this renunciation, a new agreement is to be entered into by the Sultan, by the terms of which he will pay the Company £300,000 and grant it valuable privileges. Amongst the concessions is the sole right to select blocks of land for agricultural purposes up to 50,000 acres, the right of selection "to continue for a period of twelve months after a plan showing the definite route of the proposed railway through Kelantan shall have been handed by the Government to the company." Other concessions are the sole prospecting rights for minerals over the whole area of the original concession, approximately 2,500 square miles, for a period of three years from January 1, 1913, with the additional right of selecting specified areas to be acquired on mining leases (rent free) at the termination of that period. Special prospecting rights are also conferred in the Sokor district, in which the Company has already disclosed large and valuable ore deposits, and all the river-dredging rights which the Company has hitherto exercised are continued. In effect, the Duff Development Company, under this new agreement, drops into the position of an exclusively mercantile organisation. That its field of activity, even in its restricted capacity, is an ample one will be made evident when we come to deal with the Protected States in detail.

Taking all the circumstances into account, we may write as a motto for this chapter, "All's well that ends well." The desired goal has been reached, though by devious and somewhat perilous ways. A little more indecision on the part of our authorities, a little less enterprise on the side

of the public, and we might have had to lament the creation of foreign interests in the Malay Peninsula which would have been utterly fatal to our sovereignty in that important quarter. As things are, it rests entirely with ourselves to say how the destinies of the Peninsula shall shape themselves. There may, and possibly will be, some local trouble, but the spectre of foreign interference is laid for ever.

CHAPTER XI

THE NON-FEDERATED STATES

The unfederated area largely a *terra incognita*—Kelantan—Physical characteristics—The inhabitants—Their love of sport—The ruling prince—Trengganu—Physical characteristics—Native manufactures—Agriculture and mining—The fishing industry—The Baginda or Conqueror—His evil influence—Dantesque horrors—The reigning Sultan—Kedah—Its trade—Native irrigation system—Rubber development and regulations—Mining—Constitution—Debt bondage—The reigning Sultan—Perlis—Johore—Physical characteristics—Planting development—Sultan Ibrahim, K.C.M.G.

IN taking under its expansive wing the four States whose suzerainty Siam relinquished in the circumstances already narrated, Great Britain made another advance towards the goal of an all-British Malay Peninsula. At the moment, the outside world does not realise the immense importance of the move, but it is morally certain that as the years go by there will be an increasing appreciation of the Anglo-Siamese agreement as an instrument of Imperial expansion and consolidation.

Individually, the quartette of Malay States are of little account either commercially or politically. Isolated by the combined effects of Siamese jealousy and the suspiciousness of Malay rulers, they have remained, as it were, in a back-water while the tide of healthy commercialism has swept in full flood over the other parts of the Peninsula. To a remarkable extent they were until

quite recently a *terra incognita* to the European. Those who ventured into the interior took their lives in their hands. As a natural consequence, few did make the attempt, and those for the most part never got far away from well-beaten native tracks. Actually the known records of thoroughgoing exploration do not go farther back than 1884-5, in which years Sir Frank Swettenham, Captain Giles, R.A., and the Hon. Martin Lister crossed the Peninsula from the west coast to the east coast, traversing in the latter part of the journey the State of Pahang. About the same period, Mr. William Cameron travelled from Kinta in Perak to the mouth of the Pahang River. Two years later, Sir Hugh Clifford made the same journey from west to east that had been accomplished by Sir Frank Swettenham's party. In 1895, Mr. H. M. Becher, a mining engineer, lost his life whilst attempting the ascent of Gunong Tahan, in the course of a prospecting trip in the interior. An Italian traveller named Bozzolo, more fortunate, was able to penetrate into Kelantan at about this period. He is reputed to have been the first white man who ever set foot in the remoter parts of that State, but this view takes no account of the possibility of early exploration in the period in the seventeenth century when Patani was a great resort of European traders, and both English and Dutch had factories there. The country, however, was sufficiently unknown to give an air of adventure to a journey which Sir Henry Norman undertook in 1899 when he travelled overland from Perak to Kelantan, proceeding by raft down the Kelantan River to Kota Bahru, the capital of the State. His experiences were at points decidedly exciting, and the whole episode supplies material for not the least interesting chapter in that popular writer's work, "The Peoples and Politics of that Far East." In a different

category to these individual efforts stands the expedition conducted by Sir Hugh Clifford in 1895 against the Pahang Rebels. This well-organised enterprise not only greatly extended the knowledge of Trengganu and Kelantan, but, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, was the indirect cause of the trade development in the latter State which was the leading factor in the Anglo-Siamese agreement of 1909. Another official venture which tended to lighten the dense darkness of the interior was the expedition which in 1899–1900 was led by Mr. Skeat, with a view mainly to ethnological objects. The trained scientific observations then made are amongst the most valuable records we have of the conditions prevailing in the less-known parts of the Peninsula.

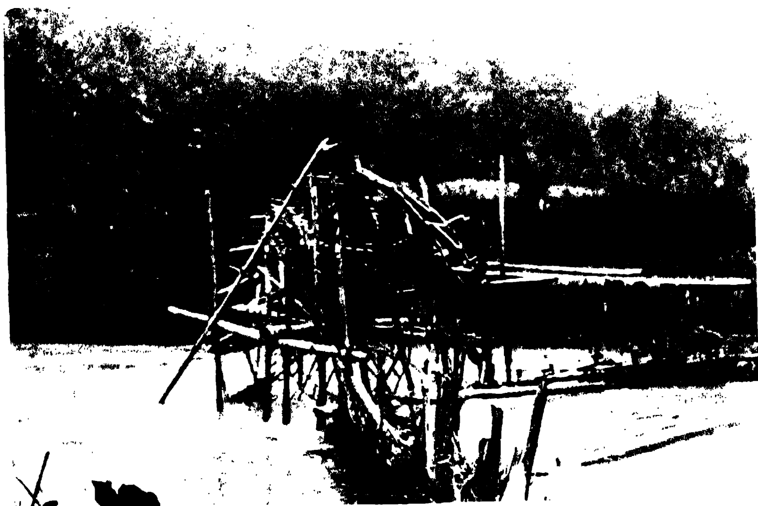
Even at the present day, however, the knowledge of many considerable areas is so superficial as to leave room for interesting speculation as to their possibilities in a commercial sense. Arguing from their broad physical characteristics and their geological relationship to other portions of Malaya which have proved their productivity, there are great potentialities in the region when the country has been properly surveyed and the civilising influences of British protection have had time to develop fully on the lines which have so marvellously increased the wealth of the Federated area.

First in importance politically and in point of population, though not of area, for Trengganu is the largest of the four States, Kelantan illustrates to a peculiar extent the characteristic qualities of the Protected territories. Situated at the extreme north-eastern end of the Peninsula, between latitudes 4·45° and 6·25° North, and between longitudes 101·30° and 102·40° East, and with a coast-line of 60 miles' length on the China Sea, it embraces an area of from 5,000 to 5,500 square miles, the vast proportion of

which has only been touched in the lightest way by the hand of civilisation. The interior is very mountainous, and contains within its limits the sovereign peak of Gunong Tahan (7,100 feet), which has been selected as the site of a settlement destined in time to be the health resort of all Malaya. Another lofty Kelantan mountain is Gunong Sitong, which with its 6,800 feet altitude is scarcely less conspicuous than its companion peak. In addition to these giants, there is a series of lofty hills on the Perak side of the State down to the main range of the Peninsula. The country is drained by the Ninggeri and Galas Rivers, flowing northwards to a point where they join and form a main stream now called the Galas, which continues to flow north to its junction with the Lebir River at Kuala Lebir. It then becomes the Kelantan River, and empties into the China Sea at Tumpat, the chief port of the State. There is a delta, between 6 and 7 miles wide, in the last 12 or 14 miles of the river's course. Kelantan can boast no harbour, but as for eight months of the year, whilst the South-west monsoon prevails, the sea is absolutely calm, the lack of such is not seriously felt. From the end of the first week of November till the third or fourth week of February, the North-east monsoon blows across the Gulf of Siam. This is invariably accompanied by a rough sea, though there are perfectly smooth intervals. It is seldom so rough, however, that mails and cargo cannot be landed with more or less risk. Vessels lie about a quarter or half a mile outside the bar, which has only some ten feet of water over it at high tide. The Kelantan River itself is navigable for shallow-draft steamers at ordinary times for a distance of from 70 to 80 miles from the coast; but periodically, in very dry weather, there is a difficulty for even steamers of light draft. During the majority of the months of the year, the transport of the

country is maintained by these steamers, which, together with stern-wheelers of still lighter draft, tow barges carrying from 5 to 15 tons of cargo. There is also a large number of motor-boats, about twenty-five in all, and the native trade is done in the ordinary poling-boats of the country. No rapids impede the traffic until a point some miles above Kuala Lebir. When the river is high, the shallow-draft steamers can, if necessary, go some 50 miles above Kuala Lebir, but this is exceptional. Kuala Lebir, the head-quarters of the Duff Development Company, is a growing settlement about 70 miles from the coast. It is a centre of much trade activity, and is destined, no doubt, in a not distant future to be a town of considerable importance. As regards the trade of the State as a whole, it reached in 1910 $2,648,571 as compared with $2,625,729 in the previous year. Copra represented $374,949 and gold $289,272 of the total exports. Other leading exports were cattle and buffaloes, padi and rice, betel-nuts, fish, and silk manufactured goods. The chief imports were cotton goods, provisions, kerosene-oil, gambier, opium, sugar, timber, salt, and machinery.

Stretching from the sea to nearly 40 miles into the interior is a well-wooded level country on which a large part of the population of the State is located. This lower part of Kelantan is like an immense garden. The soil is very fertile and of considerable depth, the result probably of centuries of denudation from the hills. Every yard of it is cultivated by the natives, the usual crops being rice, pepper, Indian corn, tobacco, and all the fruits and vegetables peculiar to Oriental countries. Coco-nut palms flourish with exceeding luxuriance in this portion of the State. The trees are prolific and the nuts of excellent quality. The copra fetches a high price, a price which would be higher if the natives would only devote



WATER WHEEL FOR PADI IRRIGATION, JELEBU, NEGRI SEMBILAN.



THE SETTLEMENT, KUALA LEBIR, KELANTAN.

more care to its preparation. Until recently the coconut land was entirely in the hands of native cultivators, but in recent years some 10,000 or 15,000 acres of land have been taken up by European planters on the coast, and some energetic work is being done to extend the coconut industry. Like other portions of the Peninsula, Kelantan offers facilities for the cultivation of the Para rubber-tree. Rubber-planting was not started till the autumn of 1905, but since then a great deal of work has been carried out, and already over 100,000 acres have been cleared for planting. The trees in the portions planted in 1906 have shown remarkable progress, so much so that planters have been encouraged to open up at a great pace. These trees have developed unusual girth, and although tapping was started so recently as 1911, it is quite evident that the yield of latex will equal, if it does not exceed, the production of the trees in the most highly favoured portions of the Federated Malay States. In 1910, though only lightly tapped, the trees yielded on their first tapping an average of 259 lb. per acre, and the rubber has invariably fetched the highest prices in the market. The forests contain much valuable timber, chief amongst the hard woods being chengal, mirbau, and kulim. These woods are especially suited for house- and boat-building and posts. Amongst the soft woods, which are of great variety, the meranti is most sought after. It is generally used for planking. There is, of course, the usual profusion of canes—bamboos and rattans.

Granite is the main rock of the country. Over this there is a big layer of slate, which extends northwards from Raub in Pahang to the State of Legeh, or Ligore, in Siam. This slate wave is from 10 to 35 miles across, and is estimated to be many thousands of feet thick. The gold deposits have always been associated with the slate,

which at many points is overlaid by enormous deposits of limestone. Away from the slate a certain amount of tin has been discovered, but very little prospecting for tin ore has as yet been undertaken. Large deposits of galena, silver, and lead, carrying gold, have been located, and a considerable amount of work has been done in the Sokor district. Over 100,000 tons of ore have been blocked out, and this has been valued at an average of £4 to the ton. Work was suspended some years ago owing to difficulties of transport, but as the railway now under construction passes through this district, and also through a part of the stanniferous country lying to the south of this deposit, it is certain that work will be resumed under profitable conditions, and that further prospecting will be undertaken for the discovery of deposits of these and other minerals. The country is riddled by ancient workings, nearly all for alluvial gold, and it is possible to walk hundreds of miles through the jungle without losing trace of them. Undoubtedly these workings are evidence of the boundless enterprise of Chinese miners in past ages.

From the census returns of last year we learn that out of a total population of 286,500, the majority are Malays. The Malays differ in some respects from their cousins in other parts of the Peninsula. They are more robust in stature and physique, and better fitted for sustained effort. At the same time they lack the courtesy and pleasant manner which is always so marked a feature in European intercourse with the Malays of Perak, or even with the natives of Pahang. Though they follow the Mohammedan religion, they are far less strict than their co-religionists of Trengganu, while the moral standard is extremely low, and a considerable amount of avoidable disease exists all over the country. Though rough and uncouth, however,

they are readily amenable to control, and are good workers. There are many aborigines in various parts of the country, both Sakai and Sĕmang, but they are very shy and timid, and give no trouble. They keep to the recesses of the forest, and do not have much intercourse with either Europeans or the other natives.

The old *adat*, or customary law, which was so strong amongst the Malays of Pahang and Negri Sembilan, is almost entirely absent in Kelantan. Until the last ten or twelve years the country was nominally under certain territorial chiefs, who in their turn were nominally responsible to the Sultan, but as a matter of fact they invariably lived in the Sultan's palace at Kota Bahru, and hardly any one of them had ever been in the district he was supposed to administer. They entrusted the collection of tribute to middlemen, known as "Buddha Rajas," hangers-on in their retinue, who made periodical collecting tours through the various districts.

Up to the present time the rivers have provided the principal means of communication. Great changes will occur when the Peninsular railway system is extended from Singapore through Pahang and Kelantan to link up with the Siamese system at the northern frontier. This much-needed extension of the railway is now in progress. It will probably enter Kelantan on the western side of the Gunong Tahan range, where the pass is low, only 300 or 400 feet above sea-level. The line will traverse the Duff Development Company's concession from end to end, and will open up rich territory both for agriculture and mining. There will be a junction line to the coast at Tumpat, on the opposite side of the Kelantan River from Kota Bahru. An immense impetus to trade will no doubt be given by the railway. Already in anticipation of its completion the Mercantile Bank of India has opened a branch in Kota

Bahru, and agencies have been established by leading mercantile firms. Under these influences, the somnolent calm of Kota Bahru is giving place to healthy movement, and occasionally even bustle. Europeans, who a couple of decades ago were almost as unfamiliar to the bulk of the inhabitants as the beings of another planet, form a community of quite respectable numbers. They are engaged chiefly in planting and trade, but of course the staff of the Duff Development Company furnishes a large contingent to the general European population of the State.

Socially the life of Kelantan proceeds on lines which give a picturesque interest to the State. The instinctive love of sport, which is so characteristic of the Malay, is here seen in its fullest development. Bull-fighting, buffalo-fighting, ram-fighting, cock-fighting, fish-fighting, and boat-racing are all indulged in with zest under the auspices of the Government, which goes the length of keeping official registers of the animals which are used in the contests, and of arranging matches in the capital and elsewhere for the amusement of the people. Bull-fights are the principal sport. In his work on Kelantan, Mr. W. A. Graham gives an interesting sketch of the method of conducting these contests. "The conduct of a fight," he says, "is surrounded by considerable etiquette. The animals which are about to engage are paraded, snorting and pawing round the ring, and the sportsmen outside the ropes are invited to back their fancy. All bets must be supported with ready money; the stakes are entered in a book and are laid before the highest noble present, who acts as president of the games and also as umpire. When all the bets have been satisfactorily arranged, a small green tree branch is stuck into the ground in the middle of the ring; the bulls are led forward and are released, when they immediately engage with much fury. The contest which

ensues consists in steady, determined pushing, head to head, alternating with sudden butts, by which the bulls try to get inside each other's guard with the sharp points of their horns. Every movement is watched with the most intense interest by the crowd, which by now is densely packed, sitting and standing round the ring, and who hail each thrust or turn of a horn with shouts of delight or groans of dismay. At length one of the animals, feeling itself no match for the other, suddenly turns tail and makes off, breaking wildly through the ring and flying in any direction, closely pursued by the victor. This is the signal for an outburst of enthusiasm from the onlookers, which expresses itself by leaping and dancing, singing and shouting, His Highness himself, if backing the right animal, not disdaining a few steps of a fantastic dance. Meanwhile a brass cup with a small hole in the bottom has been set floating in a jar of water beside the umpire, and the trainers of the bulls have gone to retrieve their animals. . . . If the worsted bull can be induced to come up to the green branch before the cup has filled with water and sunk, the fight is continued; if not, then the animal is declared to have been beaten and the stakes are handed over." The cock-fighting in Kelantan is conducted on conventional lines, but the fish-fights are a speciality of the State's own. They are singular struggles between two little red fish in a bottle of water. For hours upon end the Kelantan Malays watch with absorbed interest the contortions of the combatants. During the past few years, in addition to the distinctively native pastimes, cricket, football, lawn tennis, Badminton and clay pigeon-shooting have been indulged in by the well-to-do classes. There has even been established a sporting club, on approved European lines, to regulate these contests. The Kelantan native, in fact, is taking very kindly

to all exotic innovations which appeal to his sport-loving propensities.

The present ruler of Kelantan, H.H. Sultan Snik, is the descendant of a line of Malay rulers who established a dynasty on the ruins of an earlier Royal house which they had subdued. Prior to his accession in 1898 there had been in the short period of three years two rulers whose end was suspiciously sudden. In fact, the history of Kelantan up to quite recent times is one long record of plots and assassinations arising out of quarrels between members of the reigning family. The appointment of Mr. W. A. Graham as Resident Commissioner and Adviser to the Sultan, under the agreement with Siam in 1903, introduced a steadying influence into the troubled politics of the State; and when in 1909 Mr. J. Scott Mason was sent to Kota Bahru to establish the new British Protectorate, the old rivalries had sufficiently died down to justify the hope that a new era in Kelantan government had really been entered upon. The conclusion of the agreement with the Duff Development Company will, no doubt, add its mollifying influence to the local situation. There is, in fact, a fair assurance, in the promising conditions now prevailing, that the State will speedily become one of the most prosperous parts of Malaya.

From Kelantan to Trengganu is but a short step. Existing side by side on the eastern seaboard, equally remote from the chief centres of activity in Malaya, they have a good deal in common. Their area is about the same, the balance inclining in favour of Trengganu, which is credited with a certain 6,000 square miles as against the 5,000 to 5,500 square miles allotted to Kelantan. In point of populousness, the former State has to yield the palm, its inhabitants numbering only 154,000 as compared with the 286,500 assigned to Kelantan. But to set off this

deficiency Trengganu is able to boast that its capital, with a population of 25,000, is first of all the towns of the Protected States—a circumstance due, no doubt, to its possession of one of the best harbours on the east coast. In its physical aspects, Trengganu differs very materially in some respects from its neighbour. Mr. (now Sir) Hugh Clifford, who was the first European to explore the State thoroughly, in his interesting report printed in 1895 describes it as "a land of streams." No fewer than twelve distinct river-basins are to be found in the confines of the territory; and as the principal stream, the Trengganu, which runs through the heart of the State, is little else but a succession of formidable falls, the interior is peculiarly inaccessible. Owing to this circumstance, the population is to a large extent concentrated on the fertile coastal districts, and notably on the stretch of country between the Kelemang Falls to the sea, which is one of the most thickly populated parts of the whole of Malaya. The comparative overcrowding which Nature has enforced has compelled the population to labour more indefatigably than the Malay customarily does, with the consequence that industry flourishes to an extent practically unknown in exclusively Malay centres elsewhere. Agriculture necessarily occupies the attention of the larger proportion of the population, but at the capital a very extensive fishing industry centres, and there are also manufactures there which are famous throughout the Middle East. The most beautiful and characteristic of the products of Trengganu are the brass utensils with a white finish, which gives them the appearance of nickel plating. The secret of this process is jealously preserved by the workers, and not without good reason, for these Trengganu vessels fetch a price about four times that of the ordinary brass production. Besides the brass ware, all manner of knives, daggers, swords, and cutlery for

domestic use are manufactured in the capital. Much of this steel work is of excellent quality, but the Trengganu worker can, if he pleases, give points to a Wardour Street dealer in the palming off of "faked" goods, notably blades with inlaid silver-work which are got up most cunningly to present all the appearance of antiquity. The womenfolk of Trengganu wear beautiful silk and cotton sarongs, which are the joy of foreign collectors who are fortunate enough to come across them in their travels. Boat-building is another of the local industries. The craftsmen are exceedingly clever in this art, and turn out not only excellent vessels used in the coastal fishing enterprise, but also on occasion faithful copies of European rowing-boats. On one occasion, not many years since, a worker constructed a perfect model of an engine, mainly from old kerosene-oil tins, after visiting a few times the engine-room of a local coasting steamer. The improvised apparatus was actually fitted into an old hulk, and Sir Hugh Clifford, who relates the circumstance, expresses doubt "whether most admiration is due to the ingenuity of the constructor, or to the hardihood of those who trusted themselves to a craft so constructed." Quite recently gramophones have been turned out by a local artificer, and also perfect models of breech-loading hammerless guns. The articles were shown at an agricultural show in Singapore, and won for the ingenious worker a special silver medal, which he now proudly wears as a decoration.

The agricultural interests of Trengganu largely centre in the cultivation of rice, maize, tapioca, yams, gambier, and sugar-cane. Lately, rubber has been introduced, with good results, and an increasing attention is being paid to coconuts, which have always been extensively cultivated. In regard to the latter, the prospects would be appreciably brighter if the inhabitants were less haphazard in their

methods. The coco-nut beetle has obtained a firm lodgment in the plantations about the capital, with results which are only too apparent to the outsider but which seemingly do not at all disturb local opinion.

Judging from the contour of the country and the geological formation of the greater part of it, mining probably has a brilliant future in the State, but at present so little is really known about the interior that it is impossible to pronounce a definite opinion upon the point. Wolfram, however, has been discovered in payable quantities on the Sungei Jingah, a tributary of the Dungun River, and is being worked under the auspices of a British syndicate. Tin is also productively mined, chiefly in the Kemaman district. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that gold has been found in the Nerus River, where in former years it was the practice of the natives to win the precious metal by washing the alluvium in the river-bed.

A passing reference has been made to the fishing industry of Trengganu. It deserves a further notice, for it is one of the special features of the State. Thousands of people are employed in it, and at night the spectacle of the fleet, consisting of hundreds of boats, working either out at sea catching deep-sea fish or close inshore securing cuttlefish, which are attracted by the brilliant glare of the lighted torches carried in every boat, is one to be remembered. Mr. W. D. Scott, the British Agent, in his latest report—that for 1910—makes an interesting allusion to the methods of the Trengganu fishermen: "When the fishing fleet is at sea," he says, "the line-fishers obtain their supply of bait from the seine boats, and in return for this service the seiners have a recognised prior right of way on the open sea. The line-fishers prove the fishing grounds, and as soon as the fish bite freely, up come the seine boats and all the other boats have to

retreat. The seine boats carry a crew of twenty or thirty men, and are accompanied by players on tom-toms, who give the time for the chorus of the men hauling in the net. Before the net is hauled in, the line-fishers collect near the seine boats, and the prospective catch is sold by auction. The fish secured in the large open mesh are the property of the seine fishers, and only the fish secured in the fine mesh-work at the centre of the net fall to the highest bidder." A considerable amount of fish in a dried form finds its way from Trengganu to the outside world. In the returns for 1910 the item is at the head of the list of exports, with a value $464,288. The other leading articles of export, it may be mentioned here, are tin ore, $313,177; copra, $281,813; padi, $174,295; black pepper, $152,707; rattans, $28,039; rice, $24,746; raw hides, $14,946; and dammar torches, $12,251. On the import side of the account, rice occupies the premier position, with a return of $209,528. Cotton piece goods, sarongs, opium, sugar, raw silk, tobacco and cigarettes, and petroleum are other leading items.

It will have been gathered from what has been said that the Trengganu Malay is a pattern of industry compared with his compatriots in other parts of Malaya. "His sole interest in life," says Sir Hugh Clifford, "is the trade or occupation which he plies, and he has none of the pride of race and country so marked in the Pahang Malay. All he asks is to be allowed to make money or earn a livelihood unmolested." It was to this pacific disposition that the usurping Prince Umar, to be known afterwards in Trengganu history as the "Baginda" or "Conqueror," owed his easy conquest of the capital and of the throne of the dynasty in 1837. This Prince literally came and saw and conquered. Landing one night with a handful of followers, many of whom were women, he seized a palace, deposed

his nephew, the reigning chief and established himself without more than a belated and half-hearted attempt on the part of a small party to drive him out. The Baginda was a man of great force of character. For thirty-nine years he ruled the State with a rod of iron. He sat daily to administer justice, and there still lingers a vivid memory of how, with smiling face and passing jest, like an Oriental Jeffreys, he would condemn unfortunates either to death or the worse than death captivity in peculiar gaol cages. It is, unhappily, true that "the evil that men do lives after them." The evil work of the Baginda survives to-day in this brutal, horrible system of consigning prisoners to a living hell. What it means is described in almost too painful detail in Sir Hugh Clifford's report. The Penjara, or gaol, consists, he states, of an enclosure surrounding the cages in which the prisoners are confined. "The fence is built of heavy slabs of wood some three inches thick, two feet broad, and ten feet high, which are fitted together so as to form a solid wall. Inside this fence, and a distance of thirty inches from it, are two rows of cages placed back to back, which are made of heavy bars of wood with intervals of a couple of inches or so in every eight for the admission of light and air. These cages are raised about six inches from the ground, and measure some six feet in length, two feet in width, and five feet in height. The cages are twenty in all, that is to say, ten in each row, and when I visited the penjara it was fairly full, in one instance two men being confined in the same cage. Prisoners once condemned to incarceration are not again released until the money for which they are detained has been paid by their relatives, or until death sets them free. When I say that they are not released, I mean that they are literally never permitted to leave the cages in which they have been placed. No sanitary

arrangements of any kind are provided; no one ever cleans out the cages. . . . Owing to the heavy bars which form the sides of the cages, the close proximity of the prisoners to one another, and the solid wooden wall which shuts out all ventilation, the atmosphere inside must be something appalling, for even in the spaces between the cages and the fence—a comparatively airy spot—it is calculated to turn the strongest stomachs. To add to their misery, no bathing appliances of any kind are supplied to the prisoners, and the filthy persons of the inmates of these cells beggars all description. . . . Men and women were alike inmates of the penjara when I visited the place, and all presented the same lamentable spectacle. The chalk-white faces blinking or staring at one through the heavy bars of the cages; hollow, cadaverous cheeks, the paleness of which was only intensified by the blackness of the long, matted, vermin-infested shocks of hair; eyes receding deep into their sockets, and with the wild, hunted expression of some caged animal; sickness, misery, degradation and disease; filth of person and surroundings which baffled all description, went to make up as painful a picture as one would not desire to witness." Dante, in his vision of lost souls, never imagined a scene of greater horror than is here pictured. The terrible system still continues, but it may be hoped that its worst features have been mitigated under the more civilising influences now prevailing.

The present ruler of Trengganu—Sultan Sir Zainal Abdin, K.C.M.G.—came to the throne in 1881, succeeding his father, Sultan Ahmad II., who in his turn was the successor of the Baginda, his uncle. His Highness at his accession was only eighteen years of age, and the drawback which his youthfulness constituted was accentuated by his shy and studious nature. Advantage was taken by his relations of his inexperience, to the extent of



TRENGGANU RIVER, FROM BUKIT PETRI.



BOATS ARRIVING AT MANAL FRUIT MARKET, TRENGGANU.

stripping him of a considerable part of the revenues which had been enjoyed by his predecessors. Almost needless to say, the wealth thus taken was divided amongst the appropriators. To each was allotted the revenues of a district, the sub-division being carried to such an extent that the Sultan in the end was left only with the Trengganu River, from Kuala Telemong to the mouth, and the small adjacent river, from which to derive his revenue. The consequences of this partition have been very serious. The duty of collecting the taxes has been devolved by the nobles upon agents, who tyrannise unchecked over the headmen and people of the out districts. In such circumstances extortion flourishes like the green bay-tree, and the country as a whole suffers in its development from the fear which widely prevails of the oppressive demands which a show of wealth may bring in its train. It is obvious from what has been stated that there is ample room in Trengganu for the working of the wholesome lesson which has raised the Federated States from anarchy and wretchedness to peace and affluence. So far, there has been little opening for the exercise of good offices, but the existing conditions cannot long continue, and when the chance comes it will certainly not be missed. Maybe, not many years hence, Trengganu will be written about as one of the most progressive and enterprising parts of Malaya. The State certainly has in it the makings of a great future.

Turning now from the eastern to the western coast of the Peninsula, we have to deal with Kedah, the most northern of the Protected States brought under British influence by the Anglo-Siamese agreement. Kedah is already a familiar name to our readers. As they will have seen, there is no State in the whole of the Malay Peninsula which has older associations with British enter-

prise. And there is none which has been so continuously under the eyes of successive Governments of the Straits, owing to the proximity of the territory to Penang and Province Wellesley. Lying between the parallels of 5·5° and 6·40° N. latitude and the meridians of 99·40° and 100·55° E. longitude, the State has an area of about 3,158 square miles, and a population of 246,000. To the north and east Kedah is bordered by the Siamese States of Singora and Patani, and to the south by Perak. Province Wellesley cuts the territory off from the sea, from the Muda River in the north to the River Krian in the south. The State is divided into two parts, known respectively as North Kedah and South Kedah. There are further divisions into districts for administrative purposes, North Kedah being subdivided into five areas (the Langkawi Islands, Kubang Pasu, Padang Trap, Kota Star, and Yen), and South Kedah into four areas (Kuala Muda, Baling, Kulim, and Krian). Agriculture and mining are the staple industries of Kedah. In the lowlying coast districts padi is extensively cultivated. The land is artificially fertilised with bat guano, plentiful supplies of which are obtained from the limestone hills of Gunong Geriang (Elephant Hill), and Kodiang, Kapluh, and Hantu, near the Perlis frontier. The trade in padi is for the most part in the hands of Chinese, who, by advancing money to the Malay cultivators in the planting season, are able to buy up the crops at rates below the market prices in the harvest season. The extent of the trade is indicated by the fact that in 1910, the last year for which returns are available, nearly one million bushels of rice were exported to Penang. The padi cultivation has been enormously increased in recent years by the construction of a series of canals in the Kota Star district. This system of irrigation is mainly due to the ingenuity

and enterprise of one individual—a Malay named Wan Muhamad Saman. Wan Mat, to give him the name by which he is best known locally, about a quarter of a century since conceived the daring idea of cutting a canal from Alor Star, the capital of the State, in a straight line to the foot of Kedah Peak, and by so doing bringing into use a wild, swampy region hitherto of no value. Ignorant of engineering science, and having only his ample stock of shrewd common sense to rely upon, Wan Mat set to work, after having obtained a concession from the Sultan of land on either side of the canal when excavated. His initial operations were watched with amusement by his sceptical countrymen, but he pushed forward, indifferent to all but the great purpose he had in view. The difficulties he encountered were enormous. Possessing no proper surveying instruments, he had to set out his line by the light of fires kindled at night. To practical deficiencies arising out of his want of skilled knowledge were added troubles due to lack of capital. His Chinese coolies on three occasions deserted him when he could not pay them, and his life was once in danger owing to their animosity. Still, he struggled on heroically, until at length, years after the first sod had been cut, success crowned his efforts. As was only fitting, the Sultan caused a monument to be erected on the bank of the Kedah River, where the canal meets the stream, to commemorate his magnificent achievement. Wan Mat's material reward was as great as his well-wishers could desire. The land on each side of the canal was eagerly taken up on terms which brought him great wealth.

Inspired by the success of his initial enterprise, Wan Mat was led to undertake another and even greater work. The new project was the cutting of a canal at right angles to the completed waterway to connect the Pendang River

at a place called Tanah Merah, some twelve miles above Alor Star, with a small river called the Kangkong, flowing into the sea. It was proposed that the canal should have two levels, one an irrigation channel and the other a canal for drainage purposes. Water was to be pumped from the Pendang River into the former. In this instance Wan Mat miscalculated his power. The canal was built, but owing to faulty levels it proved a failure for the purposes intended. It is satisfactory to know, however, that efforts are to be made, under the skilled direction of the Public Works Department of the State, to remedy the defects in the work, if they are susceptible of amendment. In the years following the opening of the great canal Wan Mat had a number of imitators, and even the Sultan was fired by his example to construct a canal of his own. But for the most part these ventures have only a purely local value. With one exception they now all belong to the State, which in the future may be able to turn them to excellent practical account in a comprehensive canal system which will be undertaken under scientific direction.

Of late years there has been a considerable planting industry established in Kedah, more particularly in the Kuala Muda and Kulim districts. Rubber here, as elsewhere in Malaya, is the great stand-by. The British Adviser, in his report for 1909–10, speaks of the activity displayed in the Kuala Muda district as "feverish," and mentions that in that area alone a quarter of a million rubber-trees are estimated to have been planted. In Kulim "some people have been so foolish as to cut down coconut and betel-nut trees in order to plant rubber." The regulations in respect to the grant of land were in such confusion when the British Protectorate was introduced, that it was deemed advisable to frame a new Concessions

Enactment, especially in view of the extensive planting industry which was growing up. These regulations, which, it should be stated, apply only to lands in excess of fifty relongs[1] and to lands which had not been approved on January 19, 1910, provide for the issue of grants in perpetuity, subject to certain reservations, covenants, and conditions. The main features of the arrangement are the payment of an annual rent, with power to the Government to impose a maximum export duty of 2½ per cent. upon products other than tapioca (upon which 3 per cent. is charged). The grantee is compelled to make a *bona-fide* commencement to cultivate the land within twelve months, and to cultivate not less than one-quarter within five years. Tapioca is not to be grown without the previous written permission of the President of the State Council. A premium of $1 per relong and an annual rent of $1 per relong are charged in respect of lands held under the enactment. Rents may be revised every thirty years, but may not be raised by more than 50 per cent.

Mining in Kedah is almost exclusively concerned with the working of tin deposits, which are chiefly situated in the Kulim, Krian, Kuala Muda, and Kubang Pasu districts. In 1909–10 the export of tin amounted to 12,502 pikuls (744 tons), as against 12,698 pikuls in the previous twelvemonth. In 1909 some prospecting work, under European supervision, at a place in the Yen district, at the foot of Kedah Peak, revealed the existence of lode tin. About the same time indications of coal and petroleum oil are said to have been discovered in the Kubang Pasu district, but it is doubtful whether anything of commercial value has yet been found. In all probability the interests of Kedah, for a long time to come, will centre in agriculture.

[1] A relong is about two-thirds of an acre.

Amongst the Protected States, Kedah has attained to the most perfect development in administrative matters. In 1905, in the place of the old Malay administration, the Sultan constituted by edict a Council of State of the leading officials in the service to assist him in the "administration of all public affairs." As originally formed, this body consisted of five members. The Raja Muda was President, and the Siamese adviser and the chief judge were *ex-officio* members, and the two other members were selected by the Sultan, subject to the approval of the Siamese Government. When the suzerainty was transferred the Adviser appointed by the British Government took the place of the functionary representing the Siamese Government. At the present time there are six members of the Council, the three nominated members being the Sultan's Secretaries, the Auditor-General and the Director of Lands—all Malays. The administration of the Government is conducted somewhat on the lines of the departments of the Federated Malay States. There are district officers in each district, but these officials have not to undertake the multifarious duties of the district officers in British territory, they being regarded merely as police-court magistrates. In the State are ten European officers, of whom three are police officers, two are financial officers, three are professional officers (the State surgeon, the State veterinary surgeon, and the State engineer), and the remaining two are the Adviser (Mr. W. George Maxwell), and the Assistant-Adviser (Mr. A. Cavendish). Under the influence of the new blood that has been infused into the State organisation, considerable progress has been made in several directions. The revenue has grown from $947,784 in 1906 to $1,240,276 in 1909. In the same period the expenditure has risen from $885,786 to $1,005,328. For the whole period of four and a half

years during which the State has been under supervision the total revenue has been $4,750,035, as compared with an expenditure of $4,573,615, a surplus of $176,420 being thus shown.

When the advisory system was introduced under British auspices there was found a wide extension of the arrangement of farming revenue which at one time flourished throughout Malaya, and which to-day is still a characteristic feature of the financial arrangements of most of the Protected States. Known as the Ampun-Kernia, the farms were gifts by the Sultan to a subject for life of some particular form of revenue. The system in Kedah reached its highest development in the period a few years since, when the State, under the stress of the Sultan's extravagance, was hastening towards bankruptcy. "When it was difficult to find ready money to pay the demands of the people in the palaces or the salaries of the Government officials," says Mr. W. G. Maxwell in his report for 1909–10, "the difficulty was easily solved by making over to the claimant, in lieu of allowance or of salary, the right to collect a certain export duty, or a right of market, or a right of ferry. The arrangement was of advantage to both sides: it relieved the pressure upon the Government purse, it assured to the grantee a monthly income which, when the Ampun-Kernia was (as was nearly always the case) leased out to a Chinaman, had the merit of being regularly paid." At the beginning of 1909 there were no fewer than forty-seven of these monopolies in existence. The delegated rights were of extraordinary diversity, embracing power to impose export duties on cattle hides, wild rubber, pepper, and hardwood timber, and a royalty on guano, to exercise exclusive ferrying privileges, to impose licensing and charging fees for all fishing stakes in the waters of the State. In addition, there were several

gaming farms, spirit farms, a customs farm, and a pig farm while one fortunate individual enjoyed the right to impose port dues at Langkawi. Under British supervision a determined effort has been made to suppress this system, which is so detrimental to the financial interests of the State. As the most effectual means of doing this the State has arranged to take over the farms by buying out the interest of the sub-farmers, who are mostly Chinese, and who are glad to relinquish their privileges for the settled remuneration that is offered. In this way the Ampun-Kernia of Kedah bids fair, at no very distant date, to be merely an interesting and harmless historical survival.

In Kedah, as in other Malay States, the system of debt bondage, to which full reference is made in another chapter, has been an established feature of social life for generations—in fact, from the time "to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Regarded in its modern aspect, at least, the system, whatever may be said for its justice, is not onerous. The only complaints that Mr. Maxwell has had since his arrival in the State in July, 1909, he proved on examination to be of a trivial character. One was from a weak-minded old lady "who had done no work for years, and who, if turned out by her nominal employer, would have been absolutely destitute." Still, the custom is one which, in a British-protected State, cannot be tolerated, and it is satisfactory to know that the usage has recently been under serious consideration by the State Council with a view to its abolition. The proverbial three courses were held to be open to that body. In the first place, it might have created a sort of statute of limitations, which would wipe out the obligation under varying conditions; in the second place, it might have adopted the Siamese law, which provides for the debt being reduced by a fixed amount in respect of every month's

work performed; and, in the third place, it might have decreed that the Government should buy all the debts at a valuation to be fixed by arbitrators, and then remit the liability. The problem was ultimately solved by the adoption of the first course. Under the Debt Bondage Enactment passed on July 18, 1910, it was provided that all agreements relating to debt bondage should be reduced to writing and registered before December 1, 1910, and that unregistered agreements shall not be recognised after that date. Any future undertakings to pay off any debt by work, under the debt bondage system, were absolutely prohibited. In the case of existing agreements, annual reductions of the debt were provided for on a scale more generous than that set forth in the agreements. The result of the State's action has been that the system is all but wiped out at the present time.

The present Sultan of Kedah, His Highness Abdulhamid Halimshah ibni Ahmat Tajudin, succeeded to the throne in 1881, upon the death of his elder brother. Not long after his accession he became seriously ill, and for a considerable period was practically bedridden. In this interval, the entire administration of the State was in the hands of the Raja Muda, His Highness's brother. Even after the Sultan's recovery, the system of deputising the supreme power continued. Great confusion in consequence arose in the finances of the State, until a crisis was precipitated in June, 1904, by lavish outlay upon a series of weddings in the reigning family. In his extremity the Sultan applied to and received from Siam a loan of $2,600,000, bearing interest at 6 per cent. The burden was an onerous one, but it had the advantage of introducing the system of control which now exists. With the oversight which the State at present enjoys, there is small likelihood of a repetition of the evils of the past. The revenues, properly

garnered and applied, will make Kedah what Nature destined it to be—a region of abounding prosperity, and will justify its honorific title of Kedah Darul Aman—"Kedah, the secure abode."

Adjoining Kedah, and at one time forming a part of it, is the little State of Perlis, having an area of 300 square miles and a population of 32,700. It was to Perlis, it will be remembered, that Mr. Monckton, the East India Company's envoy, went with Captain Light in 1772 to negotiate with the Sultan of Kedah of that day for a British Settlement on the Kedah coast. At that period it was a favourite place of residence, possibly because it was removed from the coast and therefore less open to hostile attack from outside. In 1821, following upon the Siamese invasion, Perlis was detached, with another district named Setul, from Kedah, and an Arab named Syed Husin, whose father, Syed Harun, had acquired under the Sultan the status of local chief of Perlis, was made Raja. The present Raja, Syed Alwi, is the fourth in the succession. The affairs of the State are administered by a council consisting of the Raja, the Adviser (Mr. Meadows Frost), and three other members. In its main features the country is similar to the adjoining Kedah territory. The State revenue in 1909–10 amounted to $102,552, and the expenditure to $87,310. There is a debt of about $500,000, the bulk of which was incurred in the days before the Advisory system was introduced. The administration is on quite up-to-date lines. There is even a Court of Appeal for the satisfaction of the litigious propensities of the population. How well they appreciate the institution is disclosed by the fact that during 1909–10 there were no fewer than 126 appeals disposed of. This for a community which is not larger than the population of a small country town at home is not bad.



THE RAJA OF PERLIS.

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Johore remains for mention in this survey of the Protected States. The name of this State is a household word throughout the Empire. No one who visits Singapore fails to run across to the mainland to the interesting capital, Johore Bahru. Its ruler is a familiar figure in Singapore social life. No King's Birthday Parade is complete without His Highness taking his place at the head of the fine corps which he has raised in his State and marching past the King's representative, to whom he offers the salute of a loyal and devoted friend of the Empire. A thorough sportsman, he is also a keen participant in the race-meetings, and kindred functions which from time to time serve to brighten existence in "the Queen of the East." Thus Johore ought to be one of the best-known parts of Malaya, but, strangely enough, outside the capital and a few well-defined points along the line of railway and the coast the State, until quite recently, was only a degree more familiar to the European world than the Protected States further distant from the chief British Settlement.

The State includes the whole of the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, stretching from latitude 2° 40′ S. to Cape Romania (Ramunia), and including the small islands that lie along the coast to the south of 2° 40′. The sea surrounds it on three sides; on the fourth side its boundaries are Malacca, Johol, and the River Endau. Approximately the area of the State is 9,000 square miles, and the population is about 180,500. As 20,000 of this number are located in the capital, Johore Bahru or New Johore (as distinguished from Johore Lima or Old Johore, the former seat of the Sultans of Johore, which was situated a few miles up the wide estuary of the Johore River), and there are several considerable settlements along the coast, it is self-evident that the interior of the State is sparsely peopled. In actual fact, it is for the most part a great

tangle of virgin forest, much of it only partially explored. The country is watered by three tolerably large rivers—the Muar, the Endau and the Johore—and several smaller ones, of which the Batu Pahat and the Sedili are the most important. The largest of the State rivers, the Muar, on the west coast, is also the largest waterway in the south of the Peninsula. It has its rise in the Negri Sembilan, flowing south-west from Brimbun (Berembun). The population is chiefly found on the southern side of the river, in Johore proper, of which it was formerly the natural boundary. On the east coast the River Endau forms the boundary with Pahang, while Johore River opens out into a wide estuary opposite the eastern side of the island of Singapore. The country is less mountainous than other parts of the Peninsula, but it has within its limits one famous peak, Mount Ophir, whose strangely shaped outline, seen from the sea, is a familiar object to travellers in these latitudes. At one time the mountain was believed to be the highest in the Peninsula, but it is now known that its altitude (about 4,000 feet) is moderate compared with that of peaks in the more northern territory. Generally speaking, the Johore hills are all detached groups or portions of two interrupted chains running along the west and east sides respectively, the one from Mount Ophir by Penggaram and Mount Fermosa to Pulai and the Karimun group (a geological extension of Johore), and the other from the Segamat Hills and Mount Janing to the Blumut and the neighbouring hills beyond (Montahak and Panti). The Blumut Hills, with an extreme height of 3,180 feet, are the principal mountain group in Johore. In this range the River Johore, the River Sedili, and the River Kahang (which flows into the Sembrong, an affluent of the Endau) have their rise.

Planting is the staple industry of the State. It has an

almost continuous history from the early forties, when Dr. Montgomerie's discovery of the useful properties of gutta sent numerous collectors into the Johore forests in quest of the product. About a quarter of century since there was another fillip given to agricultural industry in Johore by the introduction by Europeans of a series of experiments on a large scale in the planting of sago, coffee, tea, and cocoa in the districts of Batu Pahat, Cucob, Pulia, Panti, Johore Bahru, and Pengerang. Still more recently rubber cultivation has been extensively entered upon in Johore, and with very good results. The demand for land for this purpose has led to the opening of another planting district—Muar, in the territory which forms the hinterland of Malacca. The older plantations, in which the Chinese are chiefly interested, are for the production of gambier and pepper. These commodities, with sago and timber, rattans and damar, constitute the main exports from the State to Singapore. Besides planting, the industries of Johore comprise a group of saw-mills, which are advantageously turning to account the great but unfortunately appreciably diminishing timber resources of the Sultan's territory. Mining is as yet in its infancy, but it is scarcely necessary to recall the fact that Mount Ophir is a classic home of gold. In recent times the precious metal has been found there by European as well as native prospectors. Tin deposits have also been unearthed in the same region. Tin is actually worked in the Ulu Johore district, and to a lesser extent at Bukit Mor, Padang. But the mineral most abundant in the country is iron. It is nowhere mined, but is found almost everywhere. Possibly here, as in India and China, we may at some not distant day see an important native steel and iron industry established. The railway will probably help forward this consummation. It has already done much to improve the industrial

outlook in the State, and when there is through communication with India it will unquestionably do still more. Meanwhile, efforts are being made to provide much-needed internal communication in the State by the carrying out of a comprehensive scheme of road-making. No fewer than 327 miles of track are projected at a cost of $3,500,000. When the scheme is completed, there will be direct land communication between the capital and Tomang in the extreme north-west, and the mouth of the Endau River at the highest north-eastern point of the State territory. One of the roads will run from Ku Mersing on the east coast to the mouth of the Muar River on the west coast, traversing the State at almost its broadest part.

Johore has an interesting history which in its earliest phases was considerably interlaced with that of the Dutch Indies. The ruler of old days was a prince who exercised authority over not only Johore but the Rhio and Lingga Archipelagoes. At the beginning of the century he transferred his authority from the mainland to these islands, with the consequence that his authority was weakened to an extent which permitted the principal hereditary State officers—the Bendahara in Pahang, and the Temenggong in Bulang—to become independent rulers. The latter, in the early part of the last century, was induced by Dutch aggressiveness to transfer himself from Bulang to Singapore. There he remained until Raffles conducted his famous expedition in 1818, and concluded with him the arrangement which transferred the island to the British. The compact for the transfer of territory was ratified by Tunku Husain, the prince whom Raffles regarded as the rightful Sultan of Johore. In later years there arose a great controversy as to the respective rights of the successors of the Sultan and the Temenggong to authority in Johore. Eventually the



Wilson & Co.] THE SULTAN OF JOHORE. [*Singapore.*

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question was decided in favour of the Temenggong, and it is the descendant of the latter who presides over the destinies of the State to-day. The reigning Sultan has previously been referred to as a popular and progressive prince. His State is ruled in accordance with a constitution which his father, the late Sultan Abubakar, set up on his return from Europe in 1895. The control is vested in a Council formed on lines similar to those upon which the Federated States Councils are based. Unofficially and without remuneration the late Mr. C. B. Buckley (author of the well-known "Anecdotal History of Singapore," and brother of Mr. Justice Buckley) rendered most valuable service to the Sultan; but in 1909, by arrangement with the Colonial Office, Mr. D. G. Campbell, C.M.G., was lent as General Adviser, and that post he continued to occupy with signal advantage until he came home on leave in 1911, when Mr. J. B. Elcum took up the duties temporarily. Under the system of Advisorship the development of the country is being conducted on principles which have brought prosperity to the Federated States. The fact that the Sultan of Johore is an independent ruler makes more conspicuous the enlightened efforts that are being made to bring the State into line with British Malaya in all that concerns administration and commercial development.

CHAPTER XII

LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The Constitution—The defunct Lieutenant-Governorships—The Judiciary—Development of the Municipal system—The Colony's Free Trade system—Opium policy—Export duties—The military contribution—The price of the dollar fixed—Sir John Anderson's Administration.

THE Straits Settlements occupy a leading position amongst the directly governed possessions of the Crown, and the possibilities of further development are such that the Colony's importance cannot fail to be enhanced. Crown Colony Government all the Empire over, however, partakes very much of the same character. There is in supreme authority a Governor assisted by an Executive Council, composed in the case of the Straits Settlements entirely of officials, supplemented by a Legislative Council on which non-officials have representation. As in high dynastic concerns we talk of limited monarchies, so in this matter of Crown Colony administration we may refer to a limited constitutional system. Limited, it certainly is, for the official voice in the Council Chamber is all-powerful, and can, if need be, quite drown that of the unofficial element. As recently as May in the present year (1912) an important measure deeply affecting the trade of the Straits Settlements was carried by the casting vote of the Governor in the teeth of the strong opposition of the unofficial members. In actual fact, the Government of

the Straits Settlements is to-day practically what it was nearly half a century ago when the territories were first administered by the Crown. It is, perhaps, useless to look for anything approaching a frankly representative system of Government in the Colony in view of the peculiar diversity of its population, not only as regards ethnological characteristics but habits and aptitude for self-government. But with the considerable growth of the European element which has followed the development of trade and industry changes will probably at no distant date be forced on the Government in the direction of a widening of the representative principle coupled with a loosening of the rigid rules which keep legislation in official hands. Short of a reform in this direction, the existing system may be said to be as well devised as possible to give all interests a share of influence in the Government. The Executive Councillors, seven in number, are chosen so as to bring the central administration into direct association with every part of the administered territories. Similarly the Legislative Councillors, other than the eight officials, are selected with a particular reference to the requirements of the commercial community. Thus, the Chambers of Commerce of Singapore and Penang are allowed to nominate two representatives, while another member is appointed with a full consideration of the desires of the highly important Chinese community.

It is to be understood that the system of administration described refers only to the Colony proper—that is, to Singapore, Penang and Province Wellesley, Malacca, and the Dindings. The arrangements do not touch the Federated States (Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang); nor have they any concern with the five Protected States described in the preceding chapters. The

only authority common to all is that of the Governor, who holds the office of High Commissioner in respect of these Native States. It may be stated here parenthetically that the Governor is also Governor of the Cocos or Keeling Islands, situated 700 miles south-west of Batavia; of Christmas Island, lying in the Indian Ocean 120 miles south of Java; of the island of Labuan on the north-west coast of Borneo; and High Commissioner of Brunei, a State lying between British North Borneo and Sarawak. In the federated area, the principal British official is the Chief Secretary (formerly designated the Resident-General), who resides at Kuala Lumpur, the federal capital. A Federal Council, comprising the native rulers and their British Advisers and representatives of the planting and mining industries and the commercial community, meets periodically for the transaction of public business much as the Legislative Council does in Singapore. Each of the four States also has a Council to deal with important affairs and with it a British Resident. The Protected States have, as we have seen, an advisory system under which a British official established in each territory acts as a sort of *amicus curiæ*. In Johore, the functionary is known as the General Adviser; in Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis he is simply designated Adviser, while in Trengganu he is styled British Agent.

At one period the principal local authority at Penang as well as Malacca was vested in a Lieutenant-Governor, who drew a handsome salary for duties which were largely honorific. When Captain Shaw, the Lieutenant-Governor of Malacca, died in April, 1879, no successor was appointed, and the same policy of inaction was adopted in regard to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Penang, when Major-General Anson retired in July, 1882. In the place of the old office, the Government instituted a Resident



Lambert & Co.] *Singapore.*

E. L. BROCKMAN, C.M.G., CHIEF SECRETARY FEDERATED MALAY STATES

Councillorship, giving it a special distinction by attaching to it the right of a seat in the Executive and Legislative Councils, though, in the case of Malacca, this right has recently been abrogated. Penang bitterly resented the act of the authorities in deposing her from a position which she had occupied for many years, and from time to time an agitation has been set on foot and petitions forwarded to the Secretary of State to secure her reinstatement in her old glory. In view, however, of the restricted character of the Settlements, the centralisation of ruling authority is a wise move, and if there is any other change it will probably be in the direction not of restoring the local dignity but of carrying the principle of concentrating power further. One phase of this modern disposition towards centralisation, which is not altogether satisfactory, is the increasing tendency manifested by the Colonial Office to exercise a close control of the affairs of the Settlements. There is nothing which militates against effective Colonial government so much as Downing Street interference. Often it means not the mature and considered action of experienced officials, but the whimsical caprice and the prejudiced bigotry of some political faction which for the time being is able to influence the Imperial Government. Any undue manifestation of the tendency will inevitably react on the interests of Malaya. In the past, things have prospered because the local government was left to work out the local problems in its own way, and in the future the same freedom must be given if the splendid work upon which British administrators have been engaged during the past three or four decades is to be carried to full completion. The Imperial Government need be under no apprehension as to the ability of those on the spot to carve out the right course that should be pursued. The Cadet system, by which all the higher posts

are filled on principles similar to those which govern appointments to the Indian Civil Service, ensures the provision of a high type of official, and in point of fact the Malayan Civil Service is inferior to none in the qualities which make for successful administration.

Almost the most venerable part of the Straits Settlements administration is the Judiciary. It has its roots back in the far-off days when Bencoolen was the only centre of British authority in the Middle or Far East. In 1760 a charter was granted to the inhabitants for the establishment of a Court consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen for the purpose of dealing with criminal and civil affairs. The members of the Court, who were required to be British subjects, were appointed for life, but in the event of any one of them dying or resigning "a new election was to be made from amongst the principal inhabitants by the Governor and the Council." Should the person so chosen decline to serve, he was to be fined. Further, the Governor and Council were given the power of removing any alderman "upon reasonable cause" after he had been heard in his defence. Any three or more of the members of the Court could hear civil suits, and it was laid down that the Mayor and Aldermen as a whole should constitute a Court of Record and have the power to make orders for the regulation of justice subject to the ratification of the Court. Owing to the occupation of the Settlement by the French in 1761, the charter had to be laid aside, and when the British returned to the place after the French evacuation they were too insignificant in numbers to give effect to it. Towards the end of the period of Fort Marlborough's career as a British possession, a modified system of administering justice was introduced. Meanwhile, in Penang serious difficulties were experienced by the early administrators of the Settlement owing to

the absence there of any proper judicial system. At the outset, a magistracy was set up with as Judge and Magistrate Mr. Dickens, to whom reference was made in a previous chapter. It was a turbulent community which was then established at the port, and incidents were of frequent occurrence. One episode related at length in the records was an encounter with an irate suitor which Judge Dickens had one morning while taking his usual ride. In violent language the magistrate was called upon to justify a decision he had given in court just previously. The judge was taken aback at the insolence of the request. When he had recovered from his surprise, he told his aggressor that he would not permit him or any man to expect that he would explain his official conduct as judge when he was threatened. The defeated litigant retorted by threatening to have the judge's blood. What followed is best described in the judge's own words: "Human nature," he wrote, "is frail, and I confess I was wrong in my reply. I told him he was a scoundrel, and that he had now an opportunity, and that if he had the spirit to do it why did he not now take his revenge? His answer was he had no pistols, but if he had he would." These good old times when coffee and pistols for two broke the even monotony of justice disappeared with the introduction of a charter (dated March 25, 1807) for the establishment of a Court of Judicature at Prince of Wales Island, with as first Judge or Recorder Sir Edmond Stanley, Kt. Thereafter, the judicial system took to itself the dignified attributes which are associated with the settled administration of the British law all the world over. The Recorder held Courts at Malacca when that place came into British possession, and his judicial duties were further extended to Singapore by letters patent issued on November 27, 1826, constituting the Court of Judicature of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca.

A direct outcome of the introduction of the judicial system into the Settlements was the creation of a municipal organisation. Early in 1827 a body called the Committee of Assessors was appointed at Penang to superintend the cleansing, watching, and keeping in repair of the streets of the Settlement. A similar authority was set up in Singapore in the earliest years of the Settlement's existence, but its operations were sterilised by lack of funds. In the emergency, advantage was taken by the Grand Jury at the Quarter Sessions held in February, 1829, to make a presentment in favour of "the carrying into effect without delay of a fair and equitable assessment of the property of each inhabitant in houses, land, &c., for the maintenance of an efficient night police, and for repairing the roads, bridges, &c." Sir J. T. Claridge, the successor of Sir Edmond Stanley in the Recordership, backed the presentment with his legal authority, laying down that as the charter authorised the holding of Quarter Sessions at which orders might be given touching "the making, repairs, and cleansing of the roads, streets, bridges, and ferries, and for the removal and abatement of public nuisances," and for police purposes, it followed that the Court had legal power to make a rate for such objects. Following upon this, the magistrates issued a notification that a rate of 5 per cent. would be made upon all houses in Singapore. The Government were disposed at first to question the regularity of this procedure, but in the end they acquiesced, and Singapore entered smoothly upon its municipal existence. As far as the judiciary were concerned, the headquarters were in due course transferred from Penang to Singapore, where eventually a Supreme Court was set up. At present, the Court consists of a Chief Justice and four puisne judges, and the whole judiciary constitute a Court of Appeal, from whose decision

in certain cases another appeal lies to the Privy Council. In the Federated Malay States, the superior administration of the law is entrusted to a Chief Judicial Commissioner and two Commissioners, who, together, form a Supreme Court, which holds its sittings at Kuala Lumpur. The penal law administered in the Colony is based on the Indian Code, supplemented by local ordinances together with such Acts of the Imperial Parliament as are applicable. The Civil Procedure Code is based on the English Judicature Acts.

Passing from the judiciary to the system of administration, it has to be noted at the outset as a striking fact that the Colony has attained to its present position of greatness by adhering to a Free Trade policy. Light, much against his will, had to establish moderate import duties at Penang, and they were continued for a good number of years; but at Singapore Raffles instituted a system of entirely unrestricted trade, and those principles have ever since been followed in regard to all the Settlements. The revenue at the outset was raised, as far as local needs were concerned, by the 5 per cent. assessment duty to which reference has been made, and the larger general requirements were met out of a system of excise duties on wine, spirits, and opium, by quit rents and the proceeds of a gambling farm. The latter was declared illegal by a famous dictum of Sir J. T. Claridge in 1827, and was abandoned two years later by Government decree. From that period until recent times the character of the revenue changed little.

The development of the anti-opium movement in China, with the culminating agreement signed at Peking on behalf of the British and Chinese Governments on May 8, 1911, providing for the complete extinction of the opium trade not later than the end of 1917, has, however, affected the revenue system of the Straits Settlements in a remarkable way. In conjunction with the Commission which was

appointed to visit India to inquire into the opium question, a Commission, presided over by Mr. (now Sir) John Anderson (a local merchant, not to be confused with the then Governor of the Colony), sat in 1907 at Singapore to investigate the problem as far as it affected Malaya. The Commission issued a report which traversed in a direct way the extreme views of the Anti-Opium party. Starting with the expression of the belief that "the habit of smoking opium is the expression among the Chinese of the universal tendency of human nature to some form of indulgence," the Commissioners affirmed that "in the view of those remarkably well qualified to judge, the opium habit has little or no effect on the duration of life," that "the evils arising from the use of opium are usually the subject of exaggeration," that the remarkable absence of pauperism in the Straits Settlements disproved the view put forward by the anti-opiumists that the use of opium was an active agent of destitution, and that "judged by the standard of the existence of evil results arising from the use of opium" the evidence showed that "moderate smoking prevails, and that excess is only met with in isolated instances." Further, the Commissioners were "convinced that during the past few years there has been, at any rate in the Straits Settlements, a considerable decrease in the proportion of the population addicted to the opium habit." In view of the position thus disclosed, the Commissioners pronounced emphatically against prohibition. They pointed out that effectual prohibition was very difficult to bring about in the absence of an international agreement, and that a measure of the kind, if introduced, would inevitably lead to the use of substituted indulgences of a more deleterious kind than opium. At the same time, they agreed with the view expressed by many of the witnesses "that the control of what, in excess

at any rate, is admitted to be a wasteful and seldom beneficial habit, should be extended as far as possible with due regard to the liberty of the subject." To this end they suggested that the Government should do away with the "farm" system, under which private individuals paid a fixed price for the right of selling opium and should itself take the place of the "farmers" in the matter of the manufacture of *chandhu* (prepared opium) and of its distribution wholesale. Under the suggested system, the manufactured article would be procurable at the Government factories by retailers, who would be licensed as such. The Government preparation of opium, it was suggested, would render it possible to suppress illicit dealing with facility, inasmuch as it would be feasible to introduce some element into the *chandhu* which would make it easily identifiable. On the fiscal side of the question the Commissioners quoted figures to show the vital importance of the opium revenue. In 1906, of a total revenue of $9,618,312, opium brought in $5,125,506, or 53·3 per cent. of the whole. The proportion of the opium revenue to the entire receipts rose from 45·9 in 1898 to 59·1 in 1904. This was the highest percentage touched in recent years. In 1905 the consumption dropped back to 46·0, only, however, again to rise to the figure already given for 1906—53·3 per cent. Generally speaking, the figures conclusively showed the serious consequences which would follow from a cessation or even a substantial diminution of the opium revenue. Discussing possible substituted sources of revenue, the Commission rejected emphatically the idea of establishing Custom Houses in the Colony. A poll-tax was condemned with equal decisiveness, and an income-tax was also set aside as impracticable in view of the certainty of its evasion by the Chinese.

Strong as were the influences, philanthropic and political,

running at the time in favour of prohibition, the authorities, in the face of a report of this character, could not take an extreme line. The proposals of the Commission, commended as they were alike by common sense and expediency, were adopted *in toto.* Without loss of time, the new Department was brought into existence with Mr. F. M. Baddeley as its head, and on January 1, 1910, the direct sale of the drug by Government commenced. The experiences of the official salesmen at the outset were somewhat startling. The price of the raw material rose from $920 per chest to $2,325·50 in three months, and throughout the year the rate ranged between the two points. The fluctuations were due to many causes, but mainly to the gradual reduction of the Indian export of opium under the agreement with China. The growing scarcity of opium shipped at Calcutta led the department to look to Persia for supplies. The results of experiments with opium from this quarter were so successful that in future a considerable importation will be made from the Gulf. Thus it appears highly probable that the suppression of opium cultivation in India will not mean the disuse of the drug but merely a change of venue in the cultivation.

The department having gone into the opium business does the thing thoroughly. The drug is put up into neat packages or pots bearing the Government stamp. In Singapore alone during 1910 packages totalling 48,020,958 and pots numbering 422,990 were sent out. It should be stated, however, that Singapore is a great *entrepôt* for the opium trade, and that by no means all this quantity was intended for consumption in the Colony. The protection of the Government monopoly is conducted on vigilant lines. Cocaine is the drug which is the chief object of illicit enterprise. Many thousands of bottles of this pernicious article were seized during the year, and it is

significant that all but three bore the name of a German firm. In 1911 much the same thing happened. In fact, it is perfectly clear that an extensive business is directed from the Fatherland with a regular network of agencies for distribution. It is satisfactory to know that in each year the contraband was despatched to London for sale in the interests of the Reward Fund maintained for the suppression of smuggling. In this way the frustrated smuggler "contrives a double debt to pay." Still, it is not very creditable that there should be such large shipments of an agent so demoralising to the people's welfare as cocaine undoubtedly is. On the financial side of the department's activities it is to be noted that the total amount of opium sold in the Settlements in 1911 was 1,769,506 tahils[1] for consumption in the Colony alone, and that the cash receipts were $7,707,068. In the first year of its working the new system only touched the three older Settlements, but its early extension to the Federated Malay States was inevitable, and it followed on January 1, 1911, when the monopoly was extended to the entire federated area and not confined to the old coast areas covered by the "farms." The estimated revenue from opium for 1911 was $3,946,520 (£460,427). The revised estimate was $5,009,405 (£584,430), and the actual net revenue was in round figures $5,340,000 (£623,000). It will thus be seen that under the new system the revenue is maintained very much on the old lines, the last item given contrasting with $5,125,506, the amount realised in 1906.

While on this matter of the opium monopoly the Colony proper and the Federated Malay States are one, the financial system of each has hitherto been developed on individual lines. In addition to the ordinary excise duties and land revenue, the federated territory has as an important

[1] One tahil = 1⅓ ounce.

element of its revenue export duties on tin, rubber, and other products. The impost in the case of tin is graduated according to the price which the article fetches in the market. The impost for tin, smelted or manufactured, starts at $10 per chara (400 lb.) when the price of tin does not exceed $41 per pikul, and is increased by 50 cents for every dollar by which the price of tin exceeds $41. In Perak a special duty of $6.15 per pikul is payable for tin produced in Upper Perak, but in this case the duty must be paid at Tasek to secure the concession. In regard to tin ore, the duty is 70 per cent. of the duty on tin, with an additional duty of $30 per pikul in the case of ore exported "otherwise than under such guarantees as the Resident may require that it shall be smelted in the Straits Settlements or the United Kingdom." The rubber duty is a uniform 2½ per cent. *ad valorem*. Much of the prosperity of the Federated Malay States is attributable to the income derived from these fruitful sources. For example, of a total revenue for the Federated area in 1910 of $26,553,018 (£3,097,852) no less than $7,084,368 (£826,509) was in respect of tin duty. Last year (1911), out of a total revenue of $35,056,544 (£4,089,930), no less than $11,313,173 (£1,319,870) was derived from Customs duties, and to this latter sum the duty from tin contributed $8,818,764 (£1,028,855), a substantial increase over the previous year and explainable by the high price ruling for tin in the world's markets throughout the year. The revenue from the rubber export duty in the same period amounted to $999,081 (£166,511).

The salient features of the revenue system of British Malaya having been explained, we may now usefully give some general figures to show how wonderfully this part of the Empire has progressed in recent times. In 1845–6 the revenue of Singapore by itself did not exceed £21,000.

Ten years later, when the question of direct Government by the Crown was ripening, the whole of the Settlements could not boast a greater income than £103,187. After the severance of the tie with India, the advance of the Colony was not for a few years very marked, but about 1875 commenced a steady upward movement which is still continuing.

The revenue, which in 1868 (the first year of Crown Government) was $1,301,843 and in 1875 stood at $1,538,854, had by 1885 increased to $3,508,074, by 1895 to $4,048,360, and by 1905 to $11,657,424. Thus in thirty-seven years the income of the Colony had increased nearly ninefold.

The following table gives the revenue and expenditure of the Colony since 1906, the year in which the value of the dollar was fixed at 2s. 4d.:—

		Revenue.		Expenditure
		£		£
1906	...	1,122,136	...	2,187,245[1]
1907	...	1,169,351	...	1,108,297
1908	...	1,029,885	...	1,114,389
1909	...	1,009,416	...	996,618
1910	...	1,089,238	...	878,761

Amongst the items of expenditure the Military Contribution is the most notable. It stands out in the accounts as a landmark, around which a violent controversy has raged from time to time. The circumstances which led to the discussion were these: When the Crown took over the government of the Colony from the East India Company, the military charges were fixed at £50,145. At or about this figure they remained until 1{ when, upon the

[1] In this year the Colony's exchequer still felt the effects of the expropriation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock property.

completion of an extensive system of fortifying coaling stations abroad, the Imperial Government put in a demand for the increase of the contribution to £100,000. The Singapore community took fire at the proposed inroad upon the Colonial funds, the effect of which they claimed would be to put a stoppage to important local public works. Official opinion in the main supported the protest, but the home authorities were not to be moved from their demand by Colonial representations, however strong. In the result, the vote for the larger amount was brought before the Legislative Council for sanction on March 5, 1891. The non-official members rose to the occasion by making a series of protests of almost unexampled strength against the action of the Imperial authorities. One statement was to the effect that the Colony was being "betrayed"; another speech contained a passage declaring that it was "a disgrace to civilised government" that the Colony "should be condemned literally to groan under a curse inflicted upon it by a handful of people utterly ignorant of the conditions of our Society"; while a third speaker remarked that "loyalty is a hardy plant which asks for fair field and no favour, but it withers under injustice." The home Government were so far influenced by the agitation which accompanied and followed the passage of the vote through the local legislature as to send out a qualified pledge to reconsider the question of the amount of the contribution in the event of the Colonial revenues falling off. As the year's finances proved unsatisfactory, a claim was promptly made for the promised reduction. The reply from Downing Street was a proposal to make the contribution £80,000 for 1895, £90,000 for 1896, and £100,000, £111,000, and £120,000 for the three succeeding years. It was an exasperating kind of accommodation, and the

Singapore community altogether declined to accept the Colonial Secretary's (Lord Ripon) view that "sensible relief" had been afforded. The agitation now blazed up more fiercely than ever. It culminated in a dramatic episode in which three unofficial members of the Legislative Council, eighteen Justices of the Peace, and the whole of the members of the Chinese Advisory Board—an important administrative body—resigned *en bloc*. Downing Street was at last convinced that the Singaporeans were in earnest. Overtures were made from home which resulted in a renewed discussion of the question of the contribution. Eventually, on June 28, 1895, Lord Ripon intimated that the Imperial Government were prepared to settle the question of a military contribution on the basis of a grant amounting to 17½ per cent. of the entire revenues of the Colony. The proposal finally took the form of a contribution of 20 per cent. of the revenues, omitting from the account receipts from the proceeds of land sales and premiums on leases or statutory grants, Christmas Island and Labuan revenues, and profits from railways, telephones, and other productive undertakings of a similar character. On these lines the matter was adjusted with the sullen acquiescence rather than the assent of the colonists. The arrangement has proved a most satisfactory one from the Imperial standpoint, owing to the enormous increase that has taken place in the local revenues since 1895. It is, indeed, very widely believed in the Colony that the time is ripe for a readjustment of the burden of the contribution on more equitable principles. The original idea of the contribution was that it should represent the Colony's share of charges admittedly partaking of an Imperial as well as of a local character. In actual experience the Colonial contribution constitutes the lion's portion of the burden. For example,

in 1910–11 the cost of the Straits garrison was £296,091, and of this amount the Colony contributed £170,089.

Quite apart from this rather irritating controversy, the most recent years of the Straits Government have been, in a provincial and administrative sense, highly important ones. Problems of far-reaching importance have confronted the Government, and have had to be solved in the face of not inconsiderable difficulties. The opium question has already been referred to. It carried with it the seeds of other controversies which have been in the forefront of public discussion in the Straits of late. Not the least interesting of these related to an income-tax which was proposed by Sir John Anderson as a substitute for the revenue which might be sacrificed under the new opium policy. Sir John Anderson was a sound administrator and a man of exceptional discernment, but in this instance he had miscalculated the forces which were likely to be arrayed against a proposal of this kind. The European community almost to a man condemned the scheme as one which was calculated to cast an undue burden upon them owing to the inevitable evasion of the impost by the wealthy native classes. On the other hand, the natives were up in arms against a tax which seemed to them to carry with it such undesirable possibilities in regard to their personal freedom and the privacy of their business arrangements. With statesmanlike instinct, the Governor bowed to the storm, and the income-tax was relegated to the official pigeon-hole, probably never to be brought out again. In another direction Sir John Anderson was more successful in winning the approval of the commercial community. It was during his direction of Straits affairs that, following upon the investigations of the Barbour Commission, the value of the local dollar, whose violent fluctuations and tendency to depreciation were exercising

a baleful influence on Far Eastern trade, was fixed for exchange purposes at 2s. 4d. This important change brought a steadying influence to trade, though, necessarily, there was great diversity of opinion, even amongst those who favoured a fixed rate of exchange, as to the wisdom of taking such a relatively high rate. It is contended that the rate is against the interests of the exporters of Straits produce ; but as time goes on there will be less grumbling heard, more especially when it is recognised that the fixity of exchange has had a direct influence in bringing capital into the country for permanent investment, while the comparatively high rate of the dollar has had an indirect but beneficial influence in attracting much-needed labour to the Peninsula and retaining it for the development of the leading industries—mining and planting. It is generally believed, too, that exceptional manipulations were at work in financial circles which forced the hands of the Government into fixing the rate somewhat precipitately.

A further important event which belongs to the same period is the expropriation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, in circumstances to be described in another chapter. The acquisition of this great property was the starting-point of a series of public improvements designed to strengthen Singapore's commercial position and add to its amenities. In conjunction with the construction of the railway through Johore, carried out about this time, they have given a new significance to the port and opened up for it a fresh vista of achievement. But the policy has involved necessarily heavy expenditure, and landed the Colony for the first time in debt. The total indebtedness, however, is no more than £7,750,000, which is a mere bagatelle for a rich and progressive territory like that which makes up the Colony. The really important thing

is that the Straits Settlements in the period when its wonderful modern era of development was commencing had as their chief administrator a man with prescience enough to anticipate future requirements by these well-devised measures. Too often has it happened in Colonial history that official timidity has led to the waste of valuable opportunities and to the consequent handicapping of a local community at the crisis of its fortunes.



SINGAPORE RIVER.



TELOK AYER STREET, SINGAPORE.

CHAPTER XIII

SINGAPORE: THE GATE OF THE FAR EAST

Strategical position—Picturesque approach to the port—First impressions on landing—Clubs and public institutions—European life—Municipal Council—Newspapers—Public controversies—The native population—The Chinese element—Cosmopolitan Singapore.

IN the historical section of this work prominence is given to the origin of Singapore and to the events in its early life. But the story remains to be told of that modern Singapore which plays so considerable a part in the commercial life of the world. It is a natural tendency of local patriotism to exaggerate the importance of a capital. People in the Straits are not deficient in this respect; but if they have a good conceit of themselves it is for a tangible reason. Theirs is certainly no mean city. Amongst the Empire's cities outside the United Kingdom there are few to vie with it in picturesque interest and none to surpass it in the splendour of its strategical position. It is the penultimate link in the chain of fortresses stretching from Portsmouth to Hong Kong—a chain on which are forged such strongholds as Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden. Five submarine cables connect Singapore with the outer world, and it forms one of the centres in the Imperial scheme of wireless telegraph stations. It is one of the most important ports standing on the ocean's highway between Japan, China, and Eastern Siberia on the one hand, and India

and Europe on the other. It is the central *entrepôt* of the rich Malay Archipelago, quite overshadowing all the older settlements established in this region by the Portuguese and Dutch adventurers who first won for Europeans a predominating influence in the Eastern hemisphere. At Singapore large ocean liners discharge their cargoes of valuable merchandise for distribution amongst the numerous islands that bask in the sun of the Eastern tropics; here come smaller steamers and native craft with the rich natural produce of those islands to barter in exchange for the manufactured products of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. Singapore's importance in relation to naval strategy has long been recognised by the Admiralty authorities, and its value in regard to British interests in China, Australia and India must go on increasing instead of diminishing with the rise of rival political interests in the Far East. Here come the admirals in command of the British squadrons on the Eastern Asiatic, Australian, and Indian stations to confer periodically and to discuss a common line of action should certain eventualities occur. Through those Straits of Malacca upon which the resident of Singapore looks out have passed more than one imposing British military expedition during the past century; and it was only the other day that the colonists gazed with mingled feelings at the forlorn hope of Russia's naval organisation, as it sailed under Admiral Rodjestvensky to its doom at the hands of Admiral Togo and his victorious captains in the Straits of Tsushima. Singapore, in fine, is a name which always comes into prominence whenever the Far Eastern political horizon is troubled, or whenever international strategists are discussing world problems in the light of the command of the sea.

Singapore suffers somewhat on first acquaintance from

its rather painfully obvious modernity. The strongest impression that the traveller from Europe gets as his steamer approaches the wharf at Tanjong Pagar is of a jumble of shipping and ugly warehouses standing out in gaunt outline under the glare of a tropical sun. He is probably disappointed, because his voyage down the Straits has led him to look for something much more imposing and in keeping with the character of "the Gibraltar of the East," as he has probably heard the port of Raffles described. For hour after hour, as he has reclined in languid ease under the ample awning of the ocean liner, he has been surfeited with a series of panoramic views of surpassing loveliness. The vessel as it has approached its destination has set a course near the Peninsular coast, and out of the blue haze have loomed the lofty hills of the mainland, their verdure-clad peaks piercing fleecy white clouds. Islands of emerald hue seem to float upon a turquoise sea. From the water's edge rise picturesque palms, whose graceful fronds are reflected in the aqueous mirror below. Where the mangrove does not obtrude the surf breaks softly, silently on the slumberous silver strands. But, in the main, it is a restful, motionless study in blues and greens.

Keppel Harbour, through which the steamer enters Singapore, is a pretty picture. Vegetation riots in wild luxuriance down to the very shores, and one regrets to have the spell of loveliness broken by the scarred hillsides, the garish wharves and heat-reflecting iron-roofed warehouses, and the hard granite walls which engineering skill is rearing above the coral beds and placid waters of the harbour at Tanjong Pagar. Time, which heals most sores, will heal the scars on the hillsides, however, and restore to them their pristine glory; but the day is far distant, let us hope, when the jungle shall regain its mastery over the

port that has been created along the foreshore, for though it is not picturesque, it represents at least the expansion of commerce and the increasing prosperity of a mighty Empire. Opposite are the islands of Blakang Mati, strongly fortified to protect the entrance to the harbour, and Pulo Brani, where the Straits Trading Company have established the largest tin-smelting works in the world. Blakang Mati is an important factor in the defences of the port, but it is not a Gibraltar.

The signal station on Mount Faber has announced the approach of the mail steamer to the mercantile offices in the town, and before the vessel can make fast to the wharf, motor-cars, gharries, and rickshas have deposited on the sea-front residents ready to receive new-comers or to welcome back friends returning from leave. The bustling scene is always full of attraction when viewed from the steamer's deck. Fair ladies, looking less jaded than one would expect from residence so near the Equator, flutter welcoming signals to friends on board; their men-folk, looking very neat and clean in suits of white drill and wearing the indispensable solar topee, come alongside ready to spring on board so soon as the gangway is placed in position. Innumerable coolies, Chinamen and Indians, with a sprinkling of Malays, rush hither and thither, carrying out the stentorian orders from ship and shore.

It does not take long for the human freight to land and make its way to the city, for no Customs formalities have to be observed, no scrutiny of baggage to be made. Vehicles are there in plenty. The passenger who has no friends awaiting him may choose between the tramcar or the gharry, the latter a closed cab-like affair, not particularly attractive in appearance, but eminently well-suited to protect its occupant alike from the fierce rays of the tropical sun or the sudden torrential rainstorms that

are a feature of the tropics. The motor-car is largely in evidence, for the rich Chinamen outvie the heads of the European mercantile houses in ostentatious display. But the humbler members of the community resort to single or double-seated rickshas, mostly of dilapidated aspect and drawn almost invariably by decrepit Chinamen, sparsely dressed, who pant and perspire in a way that is distressing to the new-comer as they plod along the open road connecting the wharf with the business centre of the town.

There are few points to note in passing. The foreshore is chiefly occupied by the Tanjong Pagar wharves and godowns, now the property of the Colony. The terminal station of the Singapore portion of the Peninsular railway system is in the neighbourhood of the wharves, but visitors who have travelled overland will have detrained at one or other of the stations lying farther inland and nearer the residential portion of the town. At Keppel Harbour the well-known contracting firm of Messrs. Topham, Jones & Railton has completed a new graving dock (described in a later chapter) which is one of the links in the Admiralty's scheme of docking establishments east of Suez. The equally well-known firm of Sir John Jackson & Co. is constructing a wet dock where formerly there was an evil-smelling swamp. As this dock will be surrounded by covered godowns or warehouses for the storage of goods, the work of loading and discharging vessels will be greatly facilitated. The large quantities of coal stored along the shore serve to emphasise the importance of Singapore as an Imperial naval coaling station. It is interesting to watch the ant-like mass of coal-begrimed coolies as they rapidly transfer supplies from the coal stacks to the steamer's bunkers. These Singapore coolies are said to hold the record for the bunkering of a British warship, and

are certainly able to hold their own with the Japanese at Nagasaki or the Arabs at Port Said.

Greater care has been followed in laying out the portion of the town on the right bank of the Singapore River than in the older parts elsewhere. Broad, well-constructed roads bear the streams of traffic cityward, with well-built streets running at right angles. No attempt has been made, however, to establish a European reservation. Roomy European offices, with some pretension to architectural display—though the necessity of wide verandahs imposes an appearance of monotony which no architect can successfully overcome—stand cheek-by-jowl with the godowns and residences of Chinese, Indian, and Arab traders. The majority of the European business houses are to be found in this area—the banks, shipping offices, cable house, insurance and mercantile firms, newspaper offices, and retail establishments, some of the latter, erected in recent years, being worthy of the firms owning them and a credit to the town. Some of the older quarters here and in the native town lying east of the esplanade are more picturesque than sanitary, notwithstanding the spasmodic attempts of the municipal authorities to introduce Western notions on hygiene and cleanliness, and a far-reaching scheme of reform on the lines suggested by an experienced expert (Dr. W. J. Simpson) sent out from England five or six years ago can be carried out only by slow degrees and at enormous expense. In some streets houses of purely Chinese architecture are to be seen, and if one can forget the squalor of the surroundings the effect is by no means displeasing to the artistic sense.

The Singapore Club stands on the foreshore near Johnstone's Pier, and beside it are the Post Office and the harbour-master's office.

Several bridges span the river, which divides the city into almost equal portions. The Cavenagh Bridge carries the bulk of the sea-front traffic, but the congestion is relieved to some extent by the Anderson Bridge, named after the last Governor, Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., who initiated many changes during his seven years' term of office. A slow-moving, malodorous place at most times, the river is invariably blocked by lumbering barges carrying cargo between the godowns on the riverside and the numerous steamers and native craft at anchor in the roadstead. It was partly to overcome the congestion in the river arising from an increasing trade, partly to centralise the business of the port, and partly to break down a private monopoly of the wharfage accommodation that the Government in 1905 expropriated the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, and set about further reclamations on the foreshore and the construction of the wet dock and new wharves at Tanjong Pagar, in circumstances to be described later.

On the left bank of the river are the Law Courts and the Government and Municipal Offices, also a Public Hall erected by public subscription to the memory of Queen Victoria. In this hall most of the public functions are held. Here, in 1906, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught (who was accompanied by the Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia), in the course of one of his tours as Inspector-General of the Army, held a reception, and was presented with addresses from the Chamber of Commerce, the Masonic fraternity, and the various races composing the cosmopolitan community of Singapore. His Royal Highness and the Duchess had previously visited the Colony in 1891, on their way to England from India. Other royal visitors to Singapore in recent years were their Majesties the King and Queen (then Duke and

Duchess of York), when making their memorable tour of the Colonies in 1901, and Prince Arthur of Connaught when on a mission, in 1906, to invest the late Mikado with the Order of the Garter. Prince Alexander of Teck also visited the Colony and the Federated Malay States on his way to represent the King at the coronation of the King of Siam in 1911. In this hall are hung portraits of former Governors and other prominent men who have been identified with the fortunes of Singapore, including General Sir Harry Ord, the first Governor of the Straits Settlements after their transfer from the East India Company to the Crown; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Keppel; Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, and Sir Charles Mitchell. The clock and chimes in the tower were presented by the Straits Trading Company. In the open space in front of the Victoria Memorial Hall is a bronze elephant, presented to the town by the late King of Siam in 1871, and an obelisk commemorating a visit by the Earl of Dalhousie during his term of office as Governor-General of India in the middle of the last century. On the adjacent Esplanade, with his back to the Cathedral and looking out upon the roadstead, is a fine statue of Sir Stamford Raffles, unveiled in 1887.

Singapore is well provided with clubs and club-houses. There is the Singapore Club, already mentioned, the membership of which is limited to the leading European residents, including Government officials and military officers. It is the resort of the *tuan besars*, or heads of the business houses, at the tiffin hour and when the pressure of business allows an hour or two for relaxation. It can hardly be said that the club-house is worthy of the importance of the town, and it is certainly not to be compared with similar institutions at Bombay, Hong Kong, or Shanghai. A much more imposing building

is the club-house of the Singapore Cricket Club on the river end of the *padang* or Esplanade. This is the most generally frequented club in Singapore, and all the year round such games as cricket, football, hockey, lawn-tennis, or bowls are being played by the European section of the community. It may appear strange to any one who has not visited the tropics to learn that these strenuous games are indulged in so near the Equator, but, after all, with a temperature near 100° Fahrenheit in the sun it never seems to be too hot for cricket, and in the comparative cool of the evening, between five o'clock and seven, indulgence in the more violent games does not appear unduly to distress their participants. One end of the *padang* is reserved for the Singapore Cricket Club, of which every one of pure European descent, from His Excellency the Governor down to the humblest assistant in store or mercantile firm, appears to be a member; the other portion of the ground provides playing-fields for the Singapore Recreation Club, of which the descendants of former Portuguese and Dutch families and some Eurasians are members. These clubs meet regularly in friendly rivalry, and join forces when representative matches are played against teams from Ceylon or Hong Kong, or, more frequently, against teams from the Federated Malay States. By the grace of the members, some gentlemen are allowed to join the Ladies' Lawn-Tennis Club in Bras Basah Road, where tennis and croquet tournaments are held, and where the ladies emulate the members of the men's clubs by having a quiet game of bridge when the afternoon rain drives them to seek shelter in the pavilion. There are four golf-links on the island, the principal being laid out on the Race-course. If none of the four is quite as good as St. Andrews, Hoylake, or Westward Ho!, they are all more or less of a "sporting" nature, and present

difficulties enough for men who have participated in the championships in the Homeland. Then there is the Swimming Club at Tanjong Rhu, a favourite resort of the young men on Sunday mornings; the Rowing Club, not so well supported as it might be; the Polo Club, the Straits Chinese Recreation Club, and numerous Malay and Chinese football clubs, which compete annually for a handsome trophy. The Sporting Club holds two race meetings a year, when amateurs ride as well as professional jockeys, and some exciting races are seen. Omission should not be made of the Teutonia Club, the best institution of the kind in Singapore. It belongs, as the title indicates, to the German community (which is very considerable and bulks largely in the commercial affairs of the port), and stands on a hill in the Tanglin district, the centre of the best residential portion of the suburbs. Its committee generously placed the club theatre at the service of the community before the theatre was completed at the Victoria Memorial Hall; and no one who has ever visited the club can readily forget the unstinted hospitality at all times dispensed by the members. Bowling matches, which excite the keenest rivalry, are held periodically between the members of the Teutonia Club and the neighbouring Tanglin Club, when the highest sporting instincts are displayed on both sides, as well as the best of fellowship, which goes to prove that national patriotism is not inconsistent with individual friendship, and that racial asperities disappear where men of different countries come into closer social relationship.

It is probably due to the fact that the majority of the European community live in the suburbs, from two to three or even four miles from their places of business, that the Singapore Club is merely a place of meeting in the daytime, and that it may be a long time before it is housed

as palatially as the Hong Kong Club or the Yacht or the Byculla Clubs at Bombay.

In spite of its numerous clubs and various forms of recreation, it must not be supposed that the European community neglects business. Owing to the fact that the staff of a shipping or mercantile house seldom exceeds the barest necessities, and that the exigencies of home-leave have to be taken into consideration, the European resident of Singapore usually lives a strenuous business life. Whatever outdoor exercise he contrives to get is well earned, and is necessary to preserve good health. When he drives out to his residence in the country at nightfall he does not, as a rule, welcome evening engagements. If he lives in a mess, or "chummery," with three or four others, as do most bachelors, he may indulge in a game of bridge before seeking repose; but more generally a quiet hour is spent in reading after dinner, and then nothing is to be heard in suburban Singapore but the hum of insect life in the surrounding jungle or the distant music from some native compound. The European residences are scattered over the island. It is a low-lying island, the highest point—Bukit Timah—being only about 500 feet above the sea-level. Every bit of rising ground within easy reach of the town has been utilised. The prevailing type of residence is a two-storied bungalow. On the upper floor are the bedrooms, opening out into a central hall, with a projecting verandah for use as a sitting-room. Below each bedroom is a bathroom, and in the lower floor also is the dining-room. A covered way leads from the main building to the kitchen, servants' quarters, and outhouses. The bungalow usually stands in a compound separate from its neighbours, and most of the gardens are beautifully laid out or filled with leafy trees. Some of the rich Chinese have the most palatial residences on the island.

Government House stands on a slight eminence off Orchard Road, commanding lovely views both east and west. It is here that the Governor lives and entertains, the chief event of the year being the King's birthday reception and ball. In consequence of the position it occupies, Singapore receives frequent visits from distinguished personages, and there are many calls upon the hospitality of the King's representative. Needless to say, all such calls are worthily responded to. Sir Arthur Young, the present Governor, has identified himself with every phase of the Colony's life and activities ever since he came to Singapore as Colonial Secretary in 1906, and his well-deserved popularity is rivalled only by that of his wife, Lady Evelyn Young.

Singapore is well entitled to boast of its country roads. They are broad and well-constructed avenues, the red laterite of the surface showing up with fine effect against the wealth of greenery by which they are fringed. It is a delightful drive to the prettily situated reservoir at Thompson Road, one of the beauty-spots of the island, and equally agreeable is a visit to the Botanic Gardens, where there is a rich collection of palms and every kind of tropical plant and flowering tree. In the Economic Gardens may be seen some of the oldest rubber-trees in the Peninsula; and as the visitor's carriage passes along the roads in this neighbourhood, he will be entertained by the antics of the gibbering monkeys as they spring from branch to branch of the trees overhanging the roadway. Bukit Timah Road provides a run of fourteen miles across the island northwards to the Strait of Johore. On a clear moonlight night there is no more delightful trip than a motor-car run from Singapore town through the jungle to Woodlands. The lights of Johore Bahru twinkle bewitchingly on the opposite shore, and should the visitor

make the journey on a gala night, or when the inhabitants are celebrating the Sultan's birthday, he will be rewarded with a brilliant spectacle, for not only the Istana (the Sultan's palace) but the whole town is picturesquely illuminated by fantastic Chinese and Japanese lanterns, and screeching rockets throw out showers of coloured stars above the reflecting waterway.

Singapore possesses several good hotels in the vicinity of the Esplanade. The Hôtel de l'Europe is a handsome new building, looking down upon the cricket ground ; and Raffles Hotel, whose name is a household word, with a reputation extending far beyond the limits of the Far East, lies only a little farther on.

Within easy radius of the Esplanade are most of the public institutions of Singapore. The St. Andrew's Cathedral (Anglican) is one of the most prominent landmarks on the sea front. It was built by Indian convict labour, on the site of an older building, which did service from 1837 to 1856. Opened in 1862, it became the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Singapore in 1870. It is 181 feet long, with a height in the nave of 74 feet. At the western end, where the main entrance is situated, is a handsome spire, over 200 feet high, from which a fine peal of bells, presented as a memorial of Captain J. S. H. Fraser, a former servant of the East India Company, calls the devout to worship. The style of architecture is Gothic, and several of the mullioned windows are filled with stained glass. In a corner of the compound there stands a monument to Colonel Ronald Macpherson, R.A., the architect of the building. Raffles Institution, in Beach Road, was founded in 1823 by Sir Stamford Raffles, who intended it for the higher education of Asiatics. Circumstances have led to a change in its objects, however, just as changes have been made in its endowments and manage-

ment. Since 1903 it has been managed by the Government, and has become an elementary English school, where boys of all nationalities are educated. There are several higher classes, in which promising lads are prepared for the King's Scholarships, grants being made annually to enable these students to continue their studies at the home universities. Adjoining the Institution is Raffles School for Girls, which is both a training and day school. It is situated in Bras Basah Road, where the French Missionary Society has established St. Joseph's Institution. Opposite this school is the Church of the Good Shepherd (French Catholic), and a little farther on, in Orchard Road, Raffles Library and Museum, a handsome building surmounted by a dome, opened in 1887, the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The Museum contains a rich collection of zoological specimens, none more interesting than the marine objects collected from the Straits of Malacca. Native industries are well represented, and the collection is being steadily augmented. In the lending library there are over 20,000 volumes. It is kept well up to date by the Committee of Management, supplies of current literature arriving by every mail. The Presbyterian Church, St. Andrew's Mission Chapel, and the Y.M.C.A. building are all in this locality, clustering round the hill on which stands Fort Canning, the headquarters of the General Officer commanding the garrison.

A notable addition has just been made to the public buildings of Singapore—a new Roman Catholic Church (St. Joseph's), which has been described as the finest ecclesiastical edifice in the Far East. It was consecrated on June 30 last by the Bishop of Macao, in the presence of a large congregation, which included His Excellency the Governor.

The affairs of the town are controlled by a Municipal

Council. This body has a permanent Chairman in the person of an experienced member of the Civil Service. The ratepayers, who take but a fitful interest in public matters, elect some of the Commissioners; the remainder are nominated by the Governor, and care is taken to have the native community represented. The annual expenditure of over $2,500,000 is met by rates and taxes of a varied nature; the public debt exceeds $3,000,000. There is now an excellent water-supply, and gas and electricity are laid on within the municipal area, about thirty square miles in extent. Outside this area the roads and bridges are maintained by the Government, which also controls the police force. The electric tramways belong to a private company.

Besides native journals printed in Malay and Chinese, Singapore possesses two well-conducted newspapers printed in the English language—the *Singapore Free Press* and the *Straits Times.* The meetings of the Straits Legislative Council, the Municipal Council, and public companies, and all local functions are fully reported; there is a fairly full service of Reuter and local news telegrams and the latest market quotations for tin, rubber, and other Straits produce; the happenings in the other Settlements and in the Native States and neighbouring islands are duly recorded; and the tone and breadth of outlook of the leading articles on local and imperial questions of the day will compare favourably with the daily pronouncements of the leading London organs of public opinion. It is not due to any lack of stimulus from the newspapers that the average Singapore resident is so languid in his interest in public affairs. The official class are sometimes cynical in their references to this lack of interest; but a reason exists in the local conditions for this apparent aloofness of the European community.

Constant change is inevitable in the constitution of the staff of a mercantile firm. If a business house has branches in neighbouring ports, the staff is frequently interchanged, and interest in local affairs becomes of an evanescent nature. Only a small proportion of the people of England enter public life, and, correspondingly, few residents in the Far Eastern Colonies are inclined to step into the public arena, even if the pressure of their own commercial affairs allowed the opportunity. It is a commendable feature of a place like Singapore that there is comparatively little self-seeking in municipal or colonial politics, and it is often only in response to the strongly expressed wishes of the Governor that prominent merchants allow themselves to be nominated for the Municipal or Legislative Councils. Then, again, this excursion into local politics is supposed to be reserved for the restricted numbers who constitute the heads of houses. Should the *tuan besar* refrain from intermeddling, his juniors hardly dare to do so. Thus it happens that the conduct of public affairs is left almost entirely to the officials who are paid to perform the work. Occasionally, however, the residents are aroused from their apathy, and public indignation meetings have not been unknown in recent years, when such subjects as a proposed income-tax, the continuation of the harbour works, or the military contribution from the Colony to the Imperial war-chest are discussed with healthy vigour and intelligence. On these occasions the speaking is not confined to the European residents. The Straits-born Chinese have a few representatives quite competent to voice native opinion, and as these men are largely responsible for the extraordinary prosperity of the town and of the Colony, their representations carry weight with the authorities.

Having consideration to the mixed nature of the population, there is comparatively little serious crime in Singapore. It has not always been so. Out of a total population of 259,600 in the town of Singapore the Chinese predominate, numbering 194,000. As the majority come from the lower classes in the southern provinces of China, they bring with them clan and racial prejudices which sometimes break out into faction fights. The Chinese coolie has a natural affinity for a kitchen chopper as a weapon of offence, and the bamboo carrying-pole he wields like a quarterstaff, with great effect upon the heads of his compatriots. Running fights were sometimes carried on for several days, until the opposing sides were depleted by casualties and arrests; but, nowadays, the authorities are equal to any emergency, and peace is easily maintained. Undesirables are deported by order of the Governor-in-Council, and the knowledge that this power is vested in His Excellency is a more effective deterrent upon the Chinese criminal than incarceration in a gaol, where he is better housed and better fed than he would be in his normal state of liberty. There is a resident Chinese Consul-General, who may be more popular with his fellow-countrymen under the Republican *régime* than when he represented the Manchu Emperor, for then he was regarded as more or less a spy for the authorities in Peking. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce may not conduct its deliberations with the same formality as the European Chamber, but it conserves certain interests and provides a means of communication between the official known as the Protector of Chinese and the Chinese community as a whole. On festival days, and on such occasions as a Royal visit, the Chinese guilds and clan associations are in their element as demonstrators of loyalty to the British Crown,

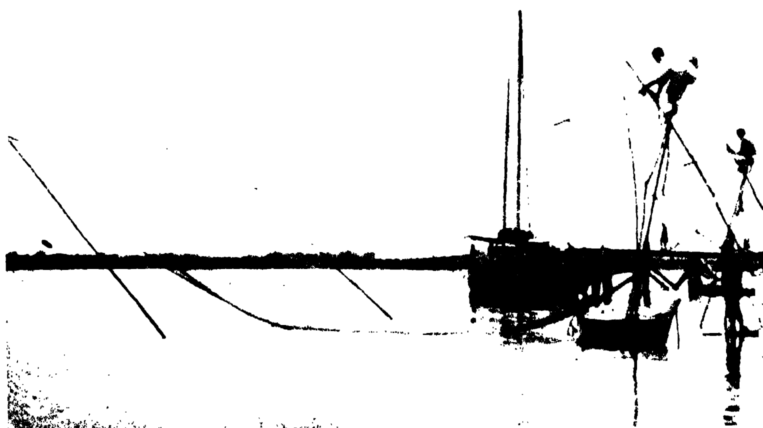
and there has grown up with the Colony a class of Straits-born Chinese, known as *Babas*, to whom Chinese institutions, and manners and customs, are so foreign that the wonder is that the majority continued to wear the queue, that badge of servitude to the Manchus, until the revolution in China led to its extinction.

It has not disappeared altogether, however, and serious disturbances have arisen in places on the Peninsula, particularly in Kuala Lumpur, in the Federated Malay States, in consequence of the forcible deprivation of the coolie classes by their fellows of this relic of national distinction. The Straits-born Chinese have formed a company in the local Volunteer Corps; and some members are so expert on the rifle-range that they participate in the annual Inter-port Rifle Matches with Hong Kong, Shanghai, Colombo, and Rangoon, and some have shot with success at Bisley. As a class, these Straits-born Chinese are highly intelligent, upright in their dealings, public-spirited, and generous in their support of all charitable institutions and patriotic movements. The Tan Tock Seng Hospital, in Serangoon Road, was founded in 1844 by a Chinese gentleman named Tan Tock Seng, and enlarged by his son, Tan Kim Cheng, in 1884. It is now conducted by the Government, the Chinese subscribing to its upkeep, and is managed by a representative committee. It contains six hundred beds, and is the largest hospital in the Colony. The Chinese have representatives in the Legislative and Municipal Councils. The Chinese member in the Legislative Council, Mr. Tan Jiak Kim, was present as one of the Colony's representatives in Westminster Abbey at the coronation of King George V., who recently conferred upon him the honour of a Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. It is to these Straits-born Chinese that the Colony owes much of its prosperity. Finding under the

British flag that peace and security which their forefathers failed to obtain in their native land, they developed those qualities which make the Chinaman a most desirable citizen —industry, thrift, integrity, and enterprise; and whatever changes occur in China, they are not likely to return as a body to the ancestral home. Their families are firmly established in the Malay Peninsula by birth and by material interests. Some of them do not even speak the Chinese language. Nevertheless, the advocates of reform in China have always found ready support amongst these Straits-born Chinese. From time to time large sums of money were contributed to assist the revolutionary propaganda, and now that a Republic has been established, in all likelihood money will go from the Straits to foster and develop the nascent industries of China. Certainly the sons of Chinamen who have kept intact the family connection will take a personal part in the Chinese renaissance; intellectual men like Dr. Lim Boon Keng, a former Member of the Legislative Council, who have already served the Chinese Government in special instances, and who have also been brought into close relationship with the supporters of political and economic reform in China. It is only necessary to add in this connection that Sun Yat-sen and Kang Yu-wei, both reformers who had to flee their native land, found asylum in Singapore and Penang.

It is not easy to convey a pen-picture of the activities of Singapore and its cosmopolitan community. Comparison might be made with Cairo and Port Said, Bombay and Calcutta, Batavia and Hong Kong; but each place has its own distinctive features—all are wonderful in their own ways. In one respect Singapore differs from all. Whereas there is a predominance of Egyptians in Cairo and Port Said, of Indians in Bombay and Calcutta, of Javanese in Batavia, and of Chinese in Hong Kong, one fails to see a correspond-

ing predominance of natives of the soil in Singapore. The Malay is swamped by other nationalities. Chinese, as we have already seen, outnumber all others. They are the workers, the shopkeepers, and, to a large extent, the plutocrats of the place. Their capital is invested in every form of industry and enterprise, from the canning of pineapples to rubber-planting and ship-owning. Their houses, be they in the fashionable suburbs or in the insalubrious slums of the city, reproduce Celestial notions of architecture. At the street corners Chinese Coquelins declaim, in their peculiar falsetto, from rude staging before amused audiences. Streams of rickshas pass, drawn by Chinese pullers; Chinese coolies carry cargo in an endless chain from quay wall to godown; Chinese jostle you from the sidewalk. Whole streets seem inhabited only by Chinese, and the effluvia that is wafted to our nostrils is essentially of Canton City or Amoy. Chinese dialects fill the air in the native market-places. The Chinese are everywhere. Yet almost every race is represented in this Clapham Junction of the East. Europeans and Americans, Indians of all types and classes, from the supercilious Chetty to the scantily attired Tamil and Telegu, Parsees from Bombay, Malays from Java and Sumatra, Japanese and Arabs, Filipinos and Siamese, and an occasional negro. Every variety of colour and costume is to be seen in the streets; it is a constant medley of races and languages. All live at peace and prosper abundantly under the Union Jack, and the statue of Raffles looks down benignantly on a scene so much in harmony with the aspirations and policy of the original founder of the city.



MALAY FISHERMEN, STRAITS OF JOHORE.



COCONUT PLANTATION, KUANTAN, PAHANG, SHOWING NATIVE BRIDGE.

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CHAPTER XIV

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Roadmaking—Effect on the development of the Federated Malay States—The first railways—Financial results—Unification policy—Construction—Staffing—Through communication—The east-coast line—Pleasures of touring—Penang—Kuala Lumpur—Malacca—Proposed hill-station at Gunong Tahan.

THE roadmaker to-day is as much a pioneer and instrument of civilisation as he was in the period when the Roman legions were subduing the then known world. While this is true of all parts of the universe, it has a peculiar application to the regions which make up British Malaya. Without roads they were, to a very large extent, unprofitable and inaccessible wilds, the haunts of beasts of prey and the lairs of pirates; with modern means of communication they are in the front rank of modern progress, a delectable country in which all the arts of commerce and science are seen in their highest development, and in which the conveniences, and even luxuries, of civilisation are enjoyed to the fullest extent. The first roads constructed in British Malaya, as it exists to-day, are to be found in Penang. During the governorship of Colonel Bannerman, the official who was such a thorn in the flesh of Raffles at the time of the acquisition of Singapore, the famous road which encircles the island was taken in hand, with the aid of convict labour provided largely from India. The enterprise was only partially completed

when Bannerman died in 1819, and the final touches were not given to it until many years later. In the meantime, Colonel Farquhar had endowed Singapore with the first of the splendid series of roads which to-day give access to every part of the island. Apart from these essays in roadmaking, and some unimportant local work in Malacca and Province Wellesley, little progress was made in the way of land communications in Malaya until the Peninsula States were taken under the wing of the British Government, less than four decades since. The Residents accredited to the Native States had not been long at their posts before they discovered that the key to most of the troubles with which they were beset was a proper system of arterial communication from the coast to the interior of the country. They therefore set themselves to work to supply the deficiency at the earliest possible date. Funds were none too plentiful then, and they had to be content for a time with a very modest realisation of the plans which figured in their dreams, and occasionally found a faint reflection in their reports. At first they confined their attention to the provision of cart-roads from the mining centres to the nearest point at which water transport was available. Simple rudimentary efforts, tracks rather than roads, they yet served a valuable purpose in the stimulation of trade and the pacification of the country. So encouraging were the results that the authorities soon embarked upon a more ambitious scheme, designed to open up the country, especially in the vicinity of the best-known mining fields. They had to proceed cautiously because of the chronic need of money, but by the adoption of an economical system by which at the outset the roads were laid out without the employment of metalling, and with inexpensive bridges, progress of a substantial kind was possible. The tracks cost no more than £150 per mile,

and they were a real boon in districts in which previously wheeled traffic of any kind had been a practical impossibility. As the years went by and the tightness at the exchequer was relieved, it was a simple matter to macadamise the track, and substitute solid work for the temporary bridges, which in the first instance had been supplied. The system which was originally introduced in Selangor in 1882–3 was extended in a comparatively brief period to the whole of the federated area. Hand in hand with the work went, as a natural corollary, the settlement of the country. Villages sprang up along the roads, cultivation was extended, and a peaceful and prosperous population existed in opulent comfort, where hitherto a few wretched aboriginal tribesmen had eked out a dreary existence. The Chinese, as everywhere else in the Straits, were foremost in this pioneer work. Aided by advances from the Government, which were scrupulously repaid, they addressed themselves, with characteristic industry, to the task of development, some taking to agriculture, others to mining, and all displaying that innate perceptiveness of a good thing in prospect which is the hall-mark of the race. Under these encouraging auspices the truly remarkable network of roads which now exists in the Peninsula was created. At the end of 1911 the road mileage in the Federated Malay States alone was 1,998 metalled and 233 unmetalled roads, while in addition there were 1,542 miles of bridle-roads. Better laid-out roads are hardly to be found anywhere in a new country. The surface is invariably good, the gradients are easy, and in most places trees afford grateful shade to the wayfarer. To these circumstances it is due, no doubt, that motoring in Malaya is exceedingly popular. The private resident of substance relies almost exclusively upon this means of conveyance for getting about locally, and motor-driven omnibuses and

lorries are familiar objects upon the roads in districts out of reach of the railways.

The mention of railways in connection with the Malay Peninsula not more years ago, than are covered by the life time of men still young, would have raised an incredulous smile on the face of the active traveller who was closely acquainted with the region. It seemed then a no-man's-land, a hopeless wilderness cut off from civilisation by an equally hopeless belt of foreign territory, in which markedly retrograde tendencies had full play. But now so little is thought of the obstacles which originally appeared in a marked degree prohibitive of enterprise, that the common talk of the clubs and hotels of the Middle East is of a future, not very remote, when the intending traveller will be able to take his ticket at Charing Cross for Singapore and make the entire journey by land, without any greater interruption than is necessitated by the break in crossing the Straits of Dover. As is the case with most great railway systems, the Malayan railways had a very modest beginning. The initial venture was a short line, eight miles in length, from Taiping to Port Weld in Perak. Designed with the object of providing communication between the coast and the interior of the State, mainly in the interests of the tin industry, the line was opened for traffic on June 1, 1885. The railway mileage was extended in September, 1886, by the opening of a line from Kuala Lumpur, destined to become the federal capital, to Klang, the whole traversing Selangor territory; and there was a further extension in 1891, when railway communication was established between Seremban and Port Dickson in Negri Sembilan. The last-named venture was undertaken with private capital, but the shareholders' interests were subsequently purchased by the local State Government, and to-day the whole of the lines in the Federated Malay

States are in Government hands. The three lines named, with a short extension from Taiping to Kamunting in Perak, opened in 1890, and another modest stretch of line from Kuala Lumpur to Rawang in Selangor, opened in 1892, constitute the nucleus of the splendid trunk system, with a mileage of 731, which we see in existence to-day. Not the least important section of the line, that which links the small Singapore-Kranji railway up with the Federated States lines in Negri Sembilan, is the Johore State Railway, 120 miles long, built by the Federated Malay States engineering staff for the State Government, on terms mutually satisfactory to the local State and to the larger interests represented by the federated authority. In this case, as with the lines generally, the funds of the Federated Malay States were the source from which the indispensable loans for construction and purchase purposes were derived. It was a happy circumstance that an overflowing exchequer, due to the careful husbanding of the State resources under British supervision, made this financial arrangement possible. But the investment has been abundantly justified on its merits by the extremely profitable results which have attended the working of the system. This can be best brought out by a few figures. At the end of 1911 the capital account for the Federated Malay States lines and the motor services stood at £6,383,200, of which £340,074 represented additions made in 1911. The subjoined table tells its own story:—

Miles open to traffic	420	530	559
Number of stations	100	125	128
Number of engines ...	66	100	103
Bogie passenger coaches	153	199	219
Four-wheeled carriages	55	66	61
Goods vehicles	1,572	2,155	2,299

	1906.	1910.	1911.
Train mileage	1,851,516	2,195,066	2,549,091
Passengers	6,171,596	9,034,529	10,347,896
Cattle	98,973	74,799	91,922
Merchandise carried (tons)	589,580	653,663	780,780

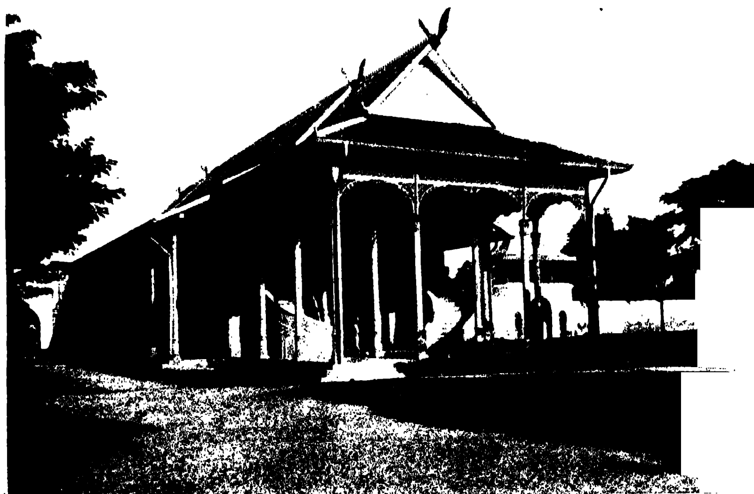
The purely financial aspect is revealed in the following additional figures:—

	1906.	1910.	1911.
Gross receipts	£566,981	£665,827	£806,389
Net profits	183,439	260,893	380,855
Construction and surveys ...	549,181	433,769	347,748

It must be added that the profit made in 1911 represents a return on invested capital of as much as 6·03 per cent. No finer commentary than this could be made upon an enterprise which has been conducted throughout in the absence of any other inspiration than that afforded by an able direction and an abundant faith in the country's capacity for development on a large scale. We often speak, in our periodical fits of self-depreciation, of muddling through our successes, but here throughout there has been a fine appreciation of the sound principles upon which alone a great work of this kind can be carried out. Notably this has been shown in the steady trend of events in the direction of unification. A half-dozen small State lines, each working under independent management, would have been fatal to the success of the system as a whole. Yet without the wise counsels which prevailed from the outset the arrangement might easily have become stereotyped. As matters stand, the only thing necessary to complete unification is the acquisition by the Federated Malay States of the Johore State Railway. Years ago the late Mr. C. B. Buckley, the unofficial adviser of the Sultan of Johore, recommended that the concern should be taken over by the federated authority, and that



GOVERNMENT OFFICES, KUALA LUMPUR.



THE BALEI BESAR (COUNCIL CHAMBER), ALOR STAR, KEDA

the money which would be paid in interest on the purchase price should be expended on roads to feed the line. It was wise counsel, but the suggestion was not followed at that time, much, it is believed, to Mr. Buckley's disappointment. Recently, however, the question has been taken up seriously, in circumstances which appear to promise a realisation of the ideal towards which the authorities from the first have been working. In the meantime the interests of railway users are in excellent keeping, as the whole of the lines in the Peninsula, and the Singapore Railway as well, are worked by the Federated Malay States Department, under an able staff, at the head of which is Mr. P. A. Anthony, who fills the dual post of General Manager and Chief Engineer. Mr. Anthony's predecessor was the late Mr. C. E. Spooner, C.M.G., who, with the late Mr. G. W. Fryer, Chief Resident Engineer for Construction, died in harness, within a few weeks of each other, in the first half of 1903. The public indebtedness to them for their self-sacrificing devotion and high ideals of administration has been specially acknowledged by Government, and memorial busts, commemorative of their services to the public, have been erected in prominent positions at Kuala Lumpur by a grateful community.

Generally speaking, the construction of railways in Malaya has been attended with few difficulties other than those associated with a tropical climate. The central parts of the Peninsula are mountainous, but the country near the coast, through which the lines mainly pass, is for the most part flat or broken by low foot-hills, and is, consequently, favourable for the railway pioneer's operations. The chief difficulty has been the numerous rivers which had to be crossed. The region is a land of streams, wide and deep, and liable to frequent flooding, owing to the

excessive rainfall. At present, the longest bridges are those over the Perak River, seven spans of 150 feet, and over the Semantan River, on the East Coast Railway, four spans of 150 feet. The geological formation has favoured the railway builders. The material which has had to be manipulated is a soft laterite or clay, easily worked. Its chief drawback is a liability to slipping under the influence of tropical rains. The highest point reached by the railway is in what is known as the "Pass" section in Perak, where the railway rises to a height of 450 feet above sea-level, with gradients of 1 in 80 on either side. Generally, however, no great altitude is reached, and the ruling gradient is 1 in 100. All the construction work is carried out departmentally, under the direction of the Chief Resident Engineer, who has under him a large staff of surveyors and assistant-engineers. The earthwork, platelaying, and bridge building are let out in petty contracts to the indispensable Chinese and others. Excellent woods of hard fibre for the sleepers are obtained in any quantity from the forests along the line. They are impervious to the attacks of white ants, but from ten to twelve years appears to be the period of their durability in the track. Chengal—a close-grained, dense, and heavy timber—is the principal variety used. To complete these practical details, it should be stated that the lines throughout Malaya are of metre gauge, the rails being of flange or T section. The earlier lines were laid with rails weighing 46½ lb. per yard, but on the more recent lines 60- and 80-lb. rails have been used.

The staffing of the Malayan railways is of the polyglot type which we might expect from the character of the population. At the head, in the most responsible positions, are trained Britons, either from the Homeland or from

Australia. The subordinate ranks are made up of Tamils, Chinese, Bengalis, Malays, Eurasians, and Sinhalese. On open line maintenance the labour is principally Tamil, and nearly 6,000 men are employed, under the supervision of European engineers and permanent-way inspectors. The stationmasters are usually Ceylon Tamils or Chinese, as also are the clerks. The useful Tamil is also the backbone of the staff of porters. In the Traffic Department the total employed is 2,250, of whom 17 are Europeans. Kuala Lumpur is the headquarters of the Railway Department. Here are the administrative offices and the extensive workshops, covering an area of 150 acres. The latter are equipped with the very latest machinery, and turn out new carriages and wagons which would not disgrace a home establishment. Locomotives, steel wagons, and carriage under-frames are sent out from England and erected at the workshops. The electrical power for the works is derived from a water-driven plant twelve miles away. This not only supplies the motive force for the machinery, but lights Kuala Lumpur. If it be added that on the vacant part of the workshop site a nine-hole golf-course has been laid out for the use of the staff, and that they have also had provided for them two lawn-tennis courts, it will be understood that the arrangements for the comfort of the staff are in thorough keeping with the generally up-to-date character of the entire establishment.

Progress is the motto of the Railway Department, as of other branches of the Federated Malay States administration. It has long been realised that if the railway system is to reach its fullest usefulness there must be extensions so as to connect with the Siamese line coming down from the north, and through that ultimately with the Indian railway system in the south of Burma. An

important beginning has been made with this work of providing through communication by the construction of a line 300 miles long, which, starting from Gemas, on the borders of Johore, is to traverse Pahang and Kelantan and connect with the Siamese Railway from Bangkok. Railhead, early in 1912, was at the 117th mile, and a start is shortly to be made on the Kelantan portion of the railway, which will be driven southward from the coast at Tumpat. Six or seven years, however, must necessarily elapse before the lines are connected up and trains are running through from Singapore to Bangkok, a distance of 1,000 miles. In the meantime, however, the line will be of great value for development purposes, as it passes through a country which at present is quite inaccessible and consequently little known. In addition to this important East Coast line, as it is styled officially, the Railway Department is starting this year the construction of a railway from Bukit Mertajam, in Province Wellesley, northward into Kedah, the present intention being to extend the railway as far as Alor Star, the capital. Thus, in two widely separated parts of the Peninsula, the iron road is being carried into territory which in quite recent years was regarded as beyond the pale of the civilising influences of the railway.

One result of railway enterprise in Malaya has been to open up a fascinating new region to the ubiquitous tourist. Given the possession of moderate funds, a good capacity for enjoying the beauties of nature, and a fair amount of leisure, the traveller can here find a field of recreation second to few in the tropics. The climate, that bugbear of timid minds, need not cause a moment's anxiety to the ordinarily robust person. Though situated so near the Equator, the Malay Peninsula, thanks to a rainfall which is distributed impartially over the entire year, is not

subject to the prostrating heat of regions like India, which are much farther north. If the days are usually warm, the nights are moderately cool, and refreshing sleep is obtainable. The worst that can be said for the temperature is that it is "muggy," owing to the excess of moisture in the air. But there is a compensating side to this in the glorious green of the profuse tropical vegetation which everywhere meets the eye. The spread of cultivation in late years, especially in connection with the development of the rubber estates, has in places inflicted ugly scars upon the landscape, but the astonishing fertility of the region is operating to heal these wounds almost as soon as they are inflicted, and presently the only change noticeable will be that the ordered lines of the rubber estates will take the place of the primeval forest in which Nature has for ages been exerting her powers without the restraining and controlling forces of man. Meanwhile, the wayfarer will find something to interest him in the glimpses of plantation work which he catches as he gazes from the railway-carriage window, or looks out at closer range from the open front of his motor-car as he spins along the even surface of the well-kept roads. But there is still sufficient left of pure unadulterated wildness to capture the imagination and captivate the eye of all but the most blasé of travellers. The rocky height crowned with verdure, the bosky dell so suggestive in its dim solitudes of the mysteries of jungle life, and the brawling stream twisting and turning in the brilliant sunshine amid the woods, combine to make an irresistible appeal to the lover of beauty. In the earliest days of the railway an element of excitement might be added to the æsthetic joys of Malayan travel by the appearance upon the track of the wild life of the jungle. There has never been here quite the same type of incident as occurred on a

frontier line in India some years ago, which elicited the memorable message from the excited Baboo station-master: "Tiger on the platform; please instruct." But the annual report of the Railway Department for 1906 contained a photographic reproduction of a scene which quite as amusingly illustrated the perils awaiting the railway pioneer when he intrudes into the domain of wild nature. The picture reveals a wrecked railway train—a locomotive completely off the rails, its tender reduced to scrap-iron, and its wheels on one side buried deeply in the track. The agent of all this mischief is depicted in another view. It is a wild elephant—a tusker of fine dimensions. Stephenson's dictum anent "the coo" was vindicated by the almost instantaneous fate that overtook the intruding animal. But if "the coo" came off badly, the train also had an exceedingly rough time. At all events, the Malayan railway authorities are not anxious to have the experience repeated, picturesque though it was. Probably there is no great reason to fear a repetition in this particular form, as the extension of cultivation along the railway is steadily driving the big game "to fresh woods and pastures new."

Nevertheless, Malaya continues to have more than average attractions for the visitor of sporting proclivities. The Peninsula in its wilder parts, indeed, is a veritable paradise for big game. In its vast wide-spreading forests range many noble species which are worthy of the skill of the best of shots and the keenest of hunters. Mr. Theodore R. Hubback, who is one of the chief authorities on the subject of sport in Malaya, and speaks from the fulness of long personal experience, enumerates the following as the game which may be encountered: The Indian elephant (*Elephas maximus*); two species of wild cattle embracing a local race of Gaur (*Bos gaurus hub-*

backi), generally known as the sĕládang; a local race of Bantin (*Bos sondaicus butteri*); two species of rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*), which has only one horn, and the Sumatran rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sumatrensis*), which has two horns, and is the common rhinoceros of the Malay Peninsula; the Malay tapir (*Tapirus indicus*), the tiger (*Filis tigris*) and the leopard (*Felis pardis*), commonly known as the panther. The elephant and the sĕládang are the chief objects of the Malayan sportsman's attentions amongst big game. But crocodile shooting has its votaries as a praiseworthy pursuit, if not the highest sport; and the tiger attracts when he can be conveniently got at, which is nowadays not often—in the vicinity of the principal towns, at all events.

There was a time when the Singapore shikari did not need to travel beyond the island for his tiger shooting. A local historian, writing in 1865, stated that the mortality from tigers at one period was one man per diem, and the Settlement gained such a notoriety in this respect that questions were asked in the House of Commons. Colonel Butterworth, on being written to on the subject, could not affirm that the destruction was so extensive, but he thought at least two hundred lives per year were lost through the depredations of tigers. Yet we find Mr. Cameron writing in 1865: "Since the period when that question was put and answered, the evil has been gradually growing worse, till, at the present moment, the mortality stands higher than ever it did before"; and Mr. A. R. Wallace in his famous book on "The Malay Archipelago," wrote in 1869: "There are always a few tigers roaming about Singapore, and they kill on an average a Chinaman every day, principally those who work in the gambir plantations, which are always made in newly cleared jungle. We heard a tiger roar once or twice in the evening, and it was

rather nervous work hunting for insects among the fallen trunks and sawpits when one of these savage animals might be lurking close by awaiting an opportunity to spring on us." There is no such danger in Singapore to-day. Down to a few years ago, word might have brought to town that a tiger had been seen five or six miles away, and Mr. G. P. Owen or Mr. D. Maw were ever ready to get upon its track, sometimes with success, but it is now several years since a tiger was shot within the precincts of the town. The honour of securing this particular kill belongs to Mr. C. M. Phillips, the headmaster of Raffles Institution. This tiger had not swum the Straits from Johore, but had escaped from a cage in which it was awaiting shipment from Singapore. It caused consternation by walking into the compound of Raffles Hotel and seeking a refuge under the billiard saloon which was then, as now, in a detached building. Billiard players made a hurried exit, and Mr. Phillips having been summoned, took post a few yards from the uninvited guest, which he was able to locate by its eyes in the darkness of its hiding-place, and was lucky enough to kill it. Nowadays, the local sportsman has to content himself with a little snipe-shooting in the padi fields. The best centres for this are, however, outside Singapore. A favourite spot is in the district of Krian, in Perak. In this locality some exceptionally big bags have been made in times past by well-known sportsmen.

Not a few travellers of late on their way to the Far East have broken their steamer journey at Penang and continued it by rail to Singapore. A pleasanter interlude to relieve the monotony of an ocean voyage it would be difficult to imagine. Penang is not quite the sleepy hollow it was a decade or so since. Rubber here, as elsewhere, has had its influence on the local life, infusing into

it an energy which takes many forms, but is seen most conspicuously in the port arrangements, which are designed to meet a great and increasing overseas traffic. There is a bustle about the wharves and a movement in the streets ich tell of an alert commercialism. Yet with it all Penang is Penang still—the same lovable, curious, picturesque port of call it has ever been since Light put upon it the indelible stamp of British civilisation. All the adjuncts of the place are attractive to the eye of the new-comer. The queer native craft which dot the harbour and crowd the foreshore, the vari-coloured population, the quaint town with its white houses and red roofs, and above all the beautiful natural surroundings of Penang all confer upon it an interest which is peculiarly its own. On landing, the visitor may perhaps be somewhat disillusioned by the narrow and squalid streets, and the absence of any very striking public buildings. But if he penetrates to the suburbs he will soon recover his favourable first impression, for Penang in its wider aspect is a fair spot, typical of all that is beautiful in Malayan scenery. The peak at the rear of the town, rising 2,500 feet above the sea-level, forms a background of almost unique beauty, and in the many charming gardens which cover the hill-slopes and fill the intervening space between the peak and the town there are points of fascinating interest which will not be lost upon the stranger from without.

When the tourist has had his surfeit of Penang delights, he may take the train at Prai on the mainland for his journey south. If he proceeds without an intervening halt, he may expect to find himself in Singapore twenty-three hours later. But probably like a wise man he will elect to proceed in a more leisurely fashion in order to extend his acquaintance with Malaya. After traversing

Province Wellesley, the narrow strip of territory on the mainland ceded to the British Government nearly a century since, he will enter the native State of Perak, passing through an important tin-mining district to Ipoh, the chief commercial centre of the State, a town which is so rapidly growing in importance that a fine hotel is being constructed in conjunction with a new station. Some hours later, the train rattles into the station at Kuala Lumpur. Looking about him, the passenger with old-time memories of the Straits might rub his eyes and wonder whether he was in dreamland. The station building, which has recently been completed in substitution of the first modest structure, is an imposing erection in the Moorish style of architecture, equipped with all the modern features of a first-class railway station. Four covered platforms, each 600 feet long, give access to the trains, and hard by are the commodious staff offices and waiting-rooms with, on the first floor, a spacious hotel. Nothing could be happier as an introduction to Kuala Lumpur itself than this fine building. The Federal Capital is one of the wonder-spots of Malaya. In 1886, the place was little better than a squalid tin-miners' camp, possessing no building of greater pretensions than the Capitan China's unpretentious residence, and to-day it is a busy township of 47,000 inhabitants, with well-laid-out streets, and a set of Government offices which for architectural beauty and commodiousness quite outvie those of Singapore. Many imposing buildings, clubs and recreative and educational institutions, figure in the perspective, and there are, besides, handsome shops and private residences which give an air of affluent prosperity to the whole which is unmistakable. Viewed from a distance, the town has a picturesque appearance. It is situated on a plain and is sheltered on three sides by hills.



To the eastward, the Ulu Klang and Ampang hills intercept the view, and beyond them rises in clear blue outline the Ginting Bedai, one of the passes leading to Pahang. The town site is well wooded, and the white outlines of the public buildings are seen in pleasant contrast with the rich tropical foliage of gardens and ornamental plantations which have sprung up in reponse to the needs of a community sufficiently cultured to appreciate the advantages of a beautiful natural environment. In the centre of the town is an extensive grassy plain known locally as the Padang, where the population indulge their recreative instincts by playing football, cricket, hockey, tennis, and other familiar games. A public garden beautifully designed and having within its limits a delightful piece of ornamental water — known as the Sydney Lake — is another of the town's institutions. A naturally good site has been turned to the best account, with the result that the 187 acres, which form the area, constitute one of the most charming public pleasaunces that the East has to show. In the midst of the gardens is situated the picturesque headquarters of the Lake Club, the most exclusive of the Peninsular clubs. The Selangor Club, another of the leading social institutions of the Federated States—popularly known as "The Spotted Dog"—has its headquarters near the Padang, in which locality is also established the Recreation Club, patronised by a wide non-European circle. The tourist is not likely to end his brief survey of the Federal capital without a visit to the Selangor State Museum, a handsome structure in the Flemish style, which houses an excellent collection of Malayan birds, many ethnological specimens of exceptional interest and numerous objects illustrative of Malayan life. At the end of his tour, he will probably take away with him a lively impression of the enterprise, foresight, and administrative

ability which have given to the Empire this newest of local capitals.

If time permits the traveller to diverge somewhat from the central track on his way to Singapore when he resumes his journey, he will find a remarkable contrast to the freshness and youth of Kuala Lumpur in the old-time institutions and associations of Malacca. Once the great centre of commercial life in the Middle East, Malacca to-day reposes in peaceful isolation away from the modern currents of trade. Rubber has to a small extent galvanised its antiquated frame into activity, and it may do more in the future to restore its lost prestige. But nothing is likely to deprive the town of that faded air of past greatness which is its chief distinction. Here are still to be seen in mute token of history's inexorable decrees the memorials of past periods of conquest. The old church upon the hill with its graceful towers bespeaks the days of Albuquerque and St. Francis Xavier, the period when the soldier and the priest combined to spread the Portuguese power in distant parts of the East. The magnificent walls and fortifications which were proud relics of this conquering age have unhappily almost entirely disappeared through the vandalistic energy of a British administrator who a century ago was here "drest in a little brief authority." But the grand Portuguese air still clings to the place, and we cannot forget, if we would, that splendid egotism which carried one of the smallest of European nations to the highest pinnacle of fame in the East three centuries ago. Successor to the Lusitanian, the Hollander also has impressed his individuality upon Malacca. In the old Stadt House, near the landing-place, we have a characteristic specimen of Dutch seventeenth-century architecture. Solid and uncompromising in appearance, it embodies perfectly those grim traditions of dour, unre-

lenting policy which have established Dutch power in the Middle East on a basis peculiarly its own. As we walk through these narrow, deserted streets and peer into the dim recesses of the old courtyards, we seem to feel something of the spirit which inspired the line—

"The spider hath woven his web in the Imperial palaces."

Not perhaps without a sigh for departed greatness, the tourist will resume his journey, and a few hours later find relief amid the bustle of modern Singapore from the brooding melancholy of the erstwhile mart of the Middle East.

The itinerary of the railway tourist will be markedly extended a few years hence when the new East Coast line has opened up the regions on that side of the Peninsula. One pleasant experience which a railway journey will probably have in store for traveller and resident alike will be a visit to a Malayan hill-station. For years the Straits Settlements have yearned for a Nuwera Eliya at which to recruit exhausted nature, but the desire has seemed difficult, if not impossible, of realisation in view of the lack of suitable sites within convenient reach of the chief centres of population. Lately, however, attention has been seriously directed to the possibility of forming on Gunong Tahan, the loftiest peak in the Peninsula, a health-resort of the usual hill-type. Towering nearly 8,000 feet in the clouds, this great mountain presents scenes of wild grandeur unsurpassed elsewhere in Malaya. Unlike most other Malayan mountains, it has at high altitudes quite a large area of flat land. Until a few years ago, little was known of it. To the Malays it was familiar as "the forbidden mountain," and in imagination they peopled its inaccessible heights with demons of a peculiar

malevolence. One of the first Europeans to ascend the mountain was a member of the Cambridge Scientific Expedition, who went up from the Kelantan side in 1899. A second ascent was made from the same side in 1901, and in 1906 an exploring party went to the summit from Pahang. Since then, the mountain has been fairly thoroughly surveyed. The last notable ascent was made in April of the present year (1912) by Sir Arthur Young, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, with a party which included Mr. E. L. Brockman, C.M.G., Chief Secretary to Government, F.M.S.; Mr. H. C. Robinson, Director of Museums, F.M.S.; Mr. W. A. Lowinger, Surveyor attached to the trigonometrical branch, F.M.S.; Dr. Lucy; and Mr. F. J. Weld, acting British Resident, Pahang. The expedition confirmed the previous impressions as to the suitability of the mountain for the establishment of a health-resort. The principal camp was pitched at an altitude of 5,900 feet. Here the party remained four days, conducting exploring excursions in various directions, and notably to the summit of the mountain, the height of which had previously been scientifically fixed at 7,186 feet. During the early hours of the first morning following the establishment of the camp, the thermometer registered about 51° Fahr. The next night the mercury dropped to 47°, and the following two nights the temperature records were 54° and 53° respectively. As far, therefore, as the bracing effects of a residence on Gunong Tahan are concerned there is little room for doubt. This circumstance, taken in conjunction with the generally advantageous character of the situation, will probably lead to the definitive adoption of the site. If such proves to be the case, Malaya will acquire a new interest in the eyes of European residents in the tropics, who have hitherto not regarded it exactly as a sanatorium. Indeed,

the station will mean life and health for hundreds, who, in the absence of such a convenient health-resort, would have either to be invalided to Europe or compelled to recuperate in some expensive resort in Java or Ceylon.

CHAPTER XV

MINING

Ancient mining—The geological features of the Malay Peninsula—Gold-mining—Tin-mining—Light's description of old methods of tin-mining—Tin in Penang—The early Government policy—Tin in the Federated Malay States—Modern methods of working.

WHETHER the Malay Peninsula is the golden Chersonese of the ancients or not—a point on which authorities are much divided—it is certain that for ages mining in some form or other has been practised in many districts of Malaya. The land of Ophir in Biblical times was synonymous with a country of surpassing richness in the precious metal. The tradition that tin was mined by the Phœnicians in the country bordering on the Straits of Malacca is too persistent to be altogether disregarded. Nothing is more probable, indeed, in this largely speculative region, than that the great Mediterranean race drew a portion of its supplies from the Middle East. Its barques are known to have found their way round the coast of Africa and to have penetrated to the Arabian Gulf. The further stage eastward represented by the voyage through the Indian Ocean to the Malayan coast would have been merely a simple and natural extension of their enterprise. But we shall doubtless be on much firmer ground if we regard the Chinese as the nation which is most closely identified with the ancient mineral development of the region. Old work-

ings abound in many parts of the Peninsula, and notably in the Eastern States, which were most accessible to the people of China. Judging from the character of the traces left of their visits, their indefatigable industry would appear to have carried them into the wilds of Kelantan and Trengganu centuries before the first European set foot in the country. When we come to the period of European ascendancy, we find in the earliest works of Portuguese writers frequent mention of the auriferous character of the Peninsula, particularly of Pahang. Manoel Godinho de Eredia, for example, speaks of Pahang as being "frequented by merchants because of its gold mines, for it possesses the largest and finest in the Peninsula, from whence we may presume it was this gold that formed the ancient trade of Alexandria, or Grand Cairo, &c." He adds that the gold was mined in "rugged passes and steep quarries," and was taken to Malacca for sale. On one occasion the Sultan of Pahang "sent as a present from Adea a beautiful piece of gold-stone two-and-a-half cubits in length to the Captain and Governor of Malacca, Joao de Silva, who, amazed at the sight of the gold, ordered it to be broken, and there was found a vein of gold a yard in width, as is well known to those of the time, it having happened in the year 1586." Confirmation of this statement relative to the mineral wealth of Pahang is forthcoming in a work written by Captain Alexander Hamilton and published in Edinburgh in 1727. Captain Hamilton states that abundant gold-dust is found in the Pahang River, and described how he had seen Malays diving for gold there. In some years, if his account is to be regarded as reliable, the export of gold from Pahang amounted to as much as eight hundredweight, or 13,422 oz. troy. Taking the evidence as a whole, it goes to prove that the reputation which the Malay Peninsula anciently enjoyed as a gold-mining area is not altogether without foundation.

Curiously, having regard to the importance of the subject, it is only in quite recent years that any attempt has been made to investigate exhaustively the geological features of the Peninsula. The first move of any consequence was made as recently as 1903, when the Federated Malay States Government appointed Mr. J. B. Scrivenor, a geologist of established reputation, to conduct a scientific survey of the country. Mr. Scrivenor, during the past eight years, has done most valuable work in geological research and collating facts bearing upon the mineral characteristics of the Peninsula. At the moment of writing a detailed geological survey is being made by Mr. Scrivenor and an assistant geologist who had been sent out from England for that purpose. Eventually the fruits of this labour will be embodied in an elaborate report, which will doubtless find a welcome, not merely in Malaya and this country, but in scientific circles throughout the civilised world. Pending the production of this compilation, we may give briefly an account of the physical features of Malaya, based on Mr. Scrivenor's work as far as it has been carried.

The Malay Peninsula has a strongly marked geological formation. A long range of granite mountains stretches like a backbone from north-west to south-east of the Peninsula, separating the Western States of Perak, Selangor, and Negri Sembilan from Pahang on the east. Subsidiary granite ranges occur on the west; and on the east, in the centre of Pahang, is the huge isolated Benom Range, also composed of granite. N.N.E. of this range lies the Tahan Range, composed almost entirely, so far as has yet been ascertained, of sandstone, shale, and conglomerate. Another similar but much smaller range, the Semanggol Range, separates Larut from Krian in Perak; and in Pahang again other conglomerate and sandstone outcrops form a



OPEN-CAST TIN MINE, TAMBUN, PERAK.



THE STEEP FACE, OPEN-CAST TIN MINE, TRONOH, PERAK.

long line of foothills to the main granite range. In Kinta, the chief mining district of Perak, a third type, composed of limestone, occurs, and fine samples of this type also occur in Selangor and Pahang. These limestone ranges are remarkable for rugged summits and precipitous sides.

So far, two extensive series of stratified rocks have been distinguished with certainty in Pahang, where Mr. Scrivenor's earlier work chiefly lay. The older series is composed of shale, calcareous shale, marl and limestone; the younger of estuarine rocks, shale, sandstone and conglomerate. The former, designated provisionally the Raub Series, is probably carboniferous; the latter, named provisionally the Tembeling Series, is conglomerate of the Trias. In the Malay Archipelago the limestones of Western Sumatra (carboniferous) and of Timor and Rotti (carboniferous and permian) are roughly on the same horizon as the Raub Series; while the Tembeling Series may be referred to the Trias, Lias, and Dogger of West Borneo. Again, the Raub and Tembeling Series may be referred respectively to the *Productus* beds of the Salt Range and the Upper Gondwana Rocks in India.

A further series of rocks, comprising chert and carbonaceous shale, both with radiolaria, and light-coloured siliceous shale in which no radiolaria have been found as yet, has been named provisionally the Chert Series. In the earliest geological report written by Mr. Scrivenor, it was suggested that this series was analagous to part of the Culm of England, and was a deep-sea deposit that slowly accumulated. Since 1907 more information has been obtained that might be held to strengthen the view that the Chert Series is really more closely associated with the Gondwanas and not separated by an important unconformity. In regard to the relationship of the Chert to the Raub Series, the informa-

tion existing is small, and it seems that the most that we can regard as certain in considering them together is that both are older than the Gondwana Series, and that the juxtaposition of the Chert Series to the Gondwanas shows that the Chert Series rocks are not older than the Raub Series. They may be younger than, or contemporaneous with, a certain part or it.

Associated with the Raub and Chert Series are numerous beds of volcanic ash and lava, comprising the Pahang Volcanic Series. The eruptions were chiefly, if not entirely, submarine, and the rocks vary considerably in composition, ranging from basic andesites to trachytes. Pebbles both of the Chert and of the Pahang Volcanic Series have been found in the conglomerate of the Tembeling Series, thus indicating an unconformity between the Raub and Tembeling Series. At some period after the deposition of the Tembeling Series, the crust of the earth in this region was greatly disturbed, it being thrown into folds, dislocated and sheared. This resulted in long lines of weakness, trending roughly N.N.W. to S.S.E., which admitted of the intrusion of masses of granite, bringing with it part of the tin which is now the chief source of wealth to the Federated Malay States. Later denudation demolished superincumbent rocks and carved the granite and Raub, Tembeling and Chert Series into the present configuration of the Malay Peninsula; but at some time previous to this small dykes of dolerite were injected into the granite.

Until recent years the tin ore exported from the Federated Malay States has been won almost entirely from alluvium, soil, and soft decomposed outcrops of stanniferous rocks. The alluvial deposits, for the most part, are of no great interest geologically. It is true that many of them have proved extraordinarily rich in tin ore, but apart from ore contents there is little to claim attention. An alluvial tin-

field of more than ordinary interest is the Machi (or Manchis) tin-field in Pahang. Here no granite is visible in any of the mines or in the immediate vicinity. There is good reason to suppose that the tin ore has been derived from small lodes in hardened shale, one of which contains large quantities of garnet. The ore in the alluvium varies greatly in grain, and is singularly free from heavy impurities, such as iron ore.

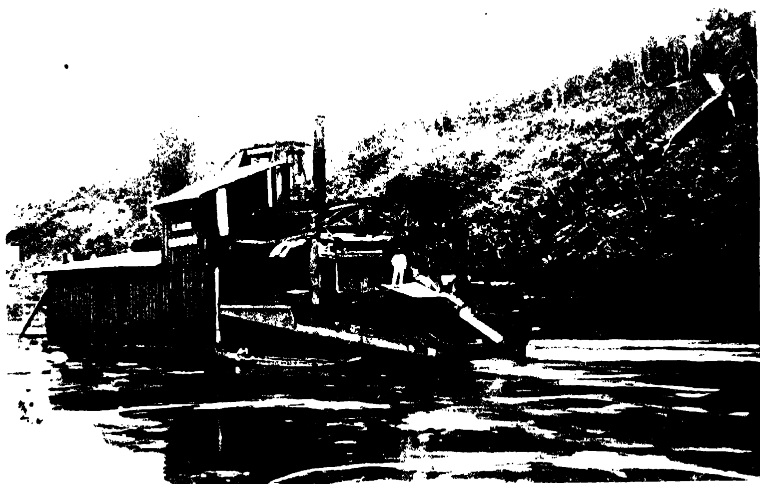
An excellent example of tin ore in soil is found at Chin-Chin, in Malacca, and another at Serandah, in Selangor. In such cases the ore is derived from small lodes in the country under the soil, and is to a certain extent distributed by soil creep. At Tanjong Serai, in Malacca, there is an interesting deposit on the sea floor. It is the result of the action of the sea on a soft stanniferous granitic rock. Prospecting has been carried on with a suction dredge. At Sungei Siput, Kuala Dipang, in Perak, remarkable cemented detrital deposits have been found in "swallow-holes" in limestone.

With some tin ore, wolfram, scheelite, corundum, and monazite are not uncommon. Quantities of wolfram and some scheelite have been exported, but no market has yet been found for the corundum, and monazite has only recently attracted attention as an article of commerce. However, there is a strong probability that these less known products of Malaya will soon find their way into the market. A sign of the times is the formation of a company to work the wolfram deposits of Trengganu.

Leaving the purely scientific aspect of the subject, we turn now to the practical development of mining in Malaya in modern times. Gold, it is to be noted, has proved singularly elusive, bearing in mind the reputation enjoyed by the Peninsula for auriferous wealth. Mr. Scrivenor, who has closely examined the districts in Pahang in which gold

is worked, in his interesting report issued in 1911,[1] throws out the suggestion that the numerous old workings to be seen to-day "are not so much evidence of former great mineral wealth as of an insistent demand that had to be satisfied, no matter what the cost might be to the producer." However that may be, European exploitation of gold-mining in Malaya has so far not been brilliantly successful. It commenced with something like a "rush" in the nineties due to exaggerated stories which were put about concerning the vast auriferous deposits of Pahang. The wealth of the region was represented to be so great that the only difficulty likely to be experienced was the getting of the gold to a place of safety. An Australian company—the Raub—was attracted into the field by these roseate reports, but its manager was so disillusioned when he reached the spot that he afterwards confessed that he would have gone straight back to Australia if he had not been under contract. Instead of wealth so abounding that its quantity would prove an embarrassment, he failed to see where he could get a ton of stuff that would repay the cost of crushing. All the evidence that he could see was the old Raub hole, and that was full of water. "It had not been touched for years, and Rajah Impi had ruined himself in the attempt to work it." The position, however, was by no means so bad as it looked at the first sight, and the manager lived to see the Raub Company a flourishing concern. But it is the only one of the many enterprises which have survived the boom, and its success has been due to exceptional skill in the application of modern scientific mining methods rather than to natural wealth. In Kelantan the Duff Development Company have done some amount of gold-dredging in the rivers, with fair results. Speaking generally, however, Malayan gold-mining in

[1] "The Geology and Mining Industries of the Ulu Pahang."



GOLD DREDGER, KELANTAN RIVER.



GOLD MINING, SOKOR KELANTAN.

European hands has been far from a success. The history of gold-producing countries oft repeats itself, and if one looks at the records of other countries we find that in many instances failure dogged the steps of enterprises that are world-renowned. Therefore, to quote the words of Sir Ernest Birch when referring recently to gold-mining in Pahang: "This mine (Raub) should not be taken as an exception, but as an indication of the probability of there being other payable lodes of gold-bearing quartz existing over that very wide stretch of country in Pahang, geologically favourable to gold."

The real mainstay of the mining industry in the Peninsula is tin. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that mining there *is* tin-mining, so insignificant are the outside interests. On this industry the great fabric of modern British Malayan prosperity has been built up. One half the world's supply of tin for many years has been derived from this quarter, and to secure it the purchasing countries have had to pay toll to the local exchequer in the shape of an export duty which in the aggregate has made up an immense sum. Probably this is the only instance on record in which an export duty on minerals has been the main source of the revenue of a country over an important series of years. The partial monopoly which Malaya has of the commodity enables it to make this imperious levy upon the outer world. Tin of late has come into artificial prominence as an export of Nigeria, but there does not appear to be any immediate likelihood of the Straits being deprived of its pre-eminence in the tin market yet awhile. Some years ago a body of enterprising Americans conceived the idea of capturing the industry by cornering the ore. They laid their plans skilfully, but Sir Frank Swettenham, who was then Governor of the Straits Settlements, promptly introduced and passed through the Legis-

lature regulations which checkmated the schemers. Since then the Government have had a firmer grip than ever of the industry. In this policy they carry public opinion with them, for every one in Malaya says, and believes, "there's nothing like tin."

Many are the changes which have come over the working of the tin deposits of Malaya in the course of years. It is a curious and little-known fact that there was a time in the early history of the British in the Straits when the East India Company's ships took the tin ore from Penang not to England but to China, where the process of smelting was alone properly understood or, at all events, was practised. Captain Light, in one of his despatches to Calcutta (dated June 18, 1787), gives an interesting description of the system of working the ore followed by the Chinese on Junk Ceylon. He wrote: "The ore is all dug in wells four feet square. Four men join to a pit; two of them open the pit while the others collect bamboos, leaves, and frames for the sides. Four pieces of wood eight inches round, notched and let into each other, make the frame that is placed within the pit. At the distance of five or six feet at the back of these are thrust down small long bamboos, and behind them are put leaves to prevent the earth and water from entering the pit. A pakota is erected at one end, and a bucket hung by a rattan serves to draw up the earth and ore. The other end is balanced by a weight. A dam is made by the side of the pit. At the bottom is placed a matt and then filled with water. One man remains in the pit to dig up the ore and one man works the pakota. The ore is brought up mixed with stones and clay, and thrown to women, who sit there to receive it in wooden platters. By breaking the clay with their fingers and twirling round the platters the ore is soon separated and laid aside. In

the evening they wash the ore in a running stream, to carry off the finer particles of sand. It is then dried and carried to the smelting-house. It is received by measure; 100 lb. of the ore yields 70 and 75 lb. of metal. The miner, if a poor man, receives a ticket for 40 lb. of tin; if an officer, 50 lb. Their tickets are afterwards exchanged by the King's overseer at the rate of five tickets of silver for one coping weighing 62½ lb. English. The surplus 30 or 35 lb. goes to the smelter, who is a Chinese that rents this privilege from the King. When the pit is finished and they have sight of the ore, two of the men begin another. In two or three days they get all the ore within reach. The pit is then left open, to fill up as time and accident direct. On an average four men will finish two pits in a month. At Pooket they dig from 50 to 70 feet; at Rangani and places near the sea from 10 to 30 feet; but here they are sometimes obliged to wait until the spring tides are over. They are likewise more subject to putrid vapours in the low grounds than the high, which prove mortal. After passing the strata of stones and clay to which the ore adheres is always found a bed of exceeding fine white clay without any mixture. Below this bed the ore never descends. The quantity of ore found in each pit varies from 250 lb. to 1,000 lb. The ore is smelted in a furnace 3 feet deep and 22 feet broad, hooped with iron. The bellows is of wood, shaped like a pump. It is 7 feet long; the diameter of the cylinder is 4 inches. The piston is very small, and covered at the end with feathers. At each end of the cylinder is a valve, which gives a constant supply of air. The tube for conveying the air into the furnace is of bamboo, and fixed in the middle of the outside of the cylinder. On the same side at each extremity is a small valve, opening from the inside of the cylinder to a small channel about

2 inches square on the outside, which conveys the air to the tube as the piston goes both up and down. The furnace is first loaded with charcoal; when it is well fired about 200 lb. of ore is placed on the top, and coal over it to make the metal separate more easily. They put a little pounded scoria among the ore, and moisten it the first time it passes through the furnace. It parts with some of its arsenic qualities, but is yet only black shining scoria with a few white specks of metal. The second time they get tin. The ore is five times seen through the furnace before the tin is properly extracted. After this the scoria is laid by, and when the season for digging is over, they smelt it once or twice more. The tin is cast in slabs of 30 lb. weight called poke, in small pieces of 20 to a slab called pöot, 40 to a slab called fuong, and 80 called pincky."

When Penang was first occupied by the British, attention was directed to tin as a possible source of profit to the East India Company. A discovery of tin deposits on high ground in the northern part of the island is mentioned prominently in the memorandum which Captain Kyd wrote on the island in 1787 for the information of the Calcutta authorities. An assay was made of the ore and proved satisfactory, but Captain Kyd entertained a very poor opinion as to the commercial value of the discovery. "It is certain," he wrote, "that if the Malay princes did not enforce as a tribute the delivery of a certain quantity of tin from each of their districts that none would be produced; but it must also be observed that the established price they pay for it is much beneath its value, and for which they absolutely cannot raise it. It would, therefore, be worth while trying the experiment whether by paying the Malays more liberally they would not be stimulated to industry. Great advantages must, however,

not be expected from this article, as the real expense of raising and manufacturing it comes to nearly its value." "It is singular enough," he added, "that although the Malays have from time immemorial furnished the Chinese with tin, that they cannot themselves extract it from the ore, the process of smelting it being only possessed and exercised by the Chinese who, of course, make a great profit of it." After this a concession was given to a Chinaman to work the Penang tin, but nothing much appears to have come of the enterprise. In 1814 the question of tin-mining again came up on a proposal made to the Government by Mr. David Brown, well known as one of the pioneers of the planting industry, that he should be allowed to clear the jungle and work the tin deposits. The authorities favoured the project to the extent of making him a free grant of uncleared land and promising that all tin raised should be exempted from duty for a period of years. As far as can be ascertained from the records, however, the venture succeeded no better than the earlier one. The next development of importance was a plan devised by the Government for obtaining tin from the mainland under an arrangement with the native princes. In 1818 treaties were concluded with the Sultan of Selangor, under which that chief agreed to supply the Company with a certain quantity of tin annually. The earliest transactions were very profitable, but difficulties soon arose in connection with the collection of the article, and the Government came to the conclusion that it would be wise for them to leave the trade in private hands. From this time onward until the Federated Malay States came into existence as a distinct entity, the tin industry was prosecuted, so far as the disturbed condition of the country permitted, by native alien adventurers.

Until the *Pax Britannica* made possible the systematic and scientific development of the tin deposits the mining operations were of the most primitive description. The Chinese workers did little more than dig holes in the surface, and when they had exhausted the working they proceeded to another spot and repeated the elementary process. In this way they secured an output which was insignificant compared with the quantity that is now regularly exported, but the enterprise paid a handsome profit and caused the industrious Chinamen to adhere tenaciously to the mining area amid all the vicissitudes of an era of anarchy which seemed to leave no scope for peaceful industry of any kind. The system of British supervision introduced by Sir Hugh Low into Perak, where the most important mines are located, worked a marvellous change in the outlook. Capital was put into the industry and machinery was introduced to supplement the manual operations of the Chinese. Under the Malay rulers an onerous export duty had been levied on tin. The principle of this impost was adopted, but the duty was fixed at a much lower rate in order not to hamper the progress of the industry. The general effect of the working of the new spirit is strikingly illustrated in the table on page 271, showing the tin production and the amount of revenue raised from the export duty over a period of years.

There is no necessity to dwell upon the significance of the figures here set out as far as they show the development of tin-mining. It is clear, however, that it is the output of tin that has made possible the extraordinary progress of British Malaya in the past few years. Splendid as the achievement is, there is no reason to fear that tin will not continue to furnish, to a large extent, the sinews of government for long years to come. Nowhere in the

world are the deposits of tin so rich or so widely distributed. You find it on the mountain-tops and in the swamps of the coast area, at the roots of the surface grass, and to the depth of 100 to 200 feet beneath the soil. Almost the entire production comes from alluvial workings. The only exceptions are some mines in Pahang and some workings in the Kledang range of hills near Ipoh in Perak, which between them do not

Year.	Tin Pikuls.	Tin-ore Pikuls.	Export Duty.
			$
1890	399,612	53,585	1,609,401
1891	394,064	90,554	1,573,441
1892	433,993	128,820	2,097,274
1893	499,457	134,924	2,602,380
1894	631,687	154,825	3,238,000
1895	559,521	250,401	3,379,813
1896	486,780	303,586	3,126,974
1897	364,526	347,671	2,716,263
1898	298,679	366,100	3,210,699
1899	285,302	359,038	6,181,542
1900	331,760	381,302	7,050,382
1901	364,364	420,879	6,968,183
1902	335,601	445,267	8,438,775
1903	345,489	494,158	9,590,429
1904	323,044	533,193	8,814,296
1905	308,288	548,372	9,253,361
1906	306,746	510,036	10,036,607
1907	234,157	579,479	9,393,738
1908	147,608	706,457	7,286,843
1909	180,585	638,301	7,150,465
1910	166,315	570,582	7,162,026
1911	167,421	574,276	8,818,764

produce more than 1,200 tons per annum by their lode mining. The chief centres of the industry are the Kinta Valley in Perak and the flats near Kuala Lumpur in Selangor, drained by the Klang River. The Kinta Valley, about thirty miles long and twelve broad, is a flat tract of country hemmed in on each side by mountains which rise abruptly from the plain. It is dotted over with mining villages which have a very prosperous and tidy

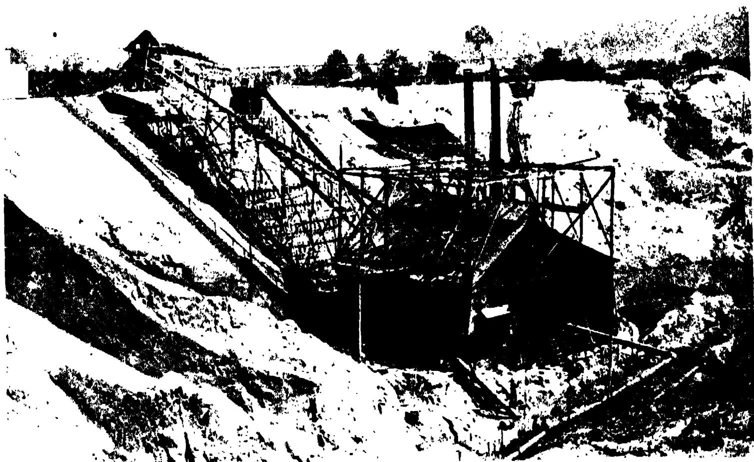
appearance. The tin deposits are found everywhere, but they are richest in the vicinity of the granite foothills, where the fissures left at the junction of the granite and the limestone have supplied an opening for concentration of the metal. The channels and crevices in the limestone bed are also rich in tin deposits. It is in this quarter that the Chinese chiefly work. They are, no doubt, influenced in their selection of the site by the comparative ease with which the tin may be won.

Mining operations are largely conducted on what is known as the "open-cast" principle. This is in reality nothing more than the old, primitive Chinese method of digging a hole and extracting from it the tin-ore. Practical experience has shown that the old methods had in them much that is good. As Mr. F. J. B. Dykes, ex-Senior Warden of Mines in the Federated Malay States, says, in his interesting brochure, "Mining in Malaya": "The white man has come and watched the Chinaman working, and has smiled at his methods; but the white man has often gone with schemes for revolutionising these methods, but seldom returns, whilst the methods still remain and enable the Chinaman to prosper and sometimes grow rich. Their superstitions also remain, and in a mine worked by Chinese labourers on tribute they believe that the wearing of boots and shoes, or the opening of an umbrella, in their mine, is likely to drive the tin-ore away or bring misfortune to their venture." In old days the Chinese made the selection of the site of a mine a matter of some ceremony. The local Malay-*pawang*, or wise man, was consulted, and he for a substantial fee indicated the spot where tin was likely to be found. As the whole area was probably stanniferous, he was more often right than wrong. His reputation flourished accordingly, with the result that he was usually

a man of substance. Nowadays the question of site-selection is decided on more prosaic principles. When the choice has been made, a strong embankment is built all round to prevent the inrush of storm-water, and the ground is then excavated. First the layer of barren ground overlying the stanniferous alluvium is removed, and then the tin-bearing gravel is lifted by coolies to the wash-boxes for the separation of the tin from the gravel. The wash-boxes are long, coffin-shaped arrangements, set at a grade of about 1 in 12, and having a width of about 3 feet at the widest part and 10 to 18 inches at the narrowest, which is at the end. At the wide part is fixed a baffle-board, about 8 to 12 inches deep, with a square aperture through which a stream of water constantly flows over the "karang," or tin-bearing gravel. A coolie stirs up the deposit with a rake and facilitates its passage into the box, where it is immediately dealt with by men working with large long-handled hoes. These washers, as they are called, turn the mass over and over until it is considered that the box will not with safety hold any more ore. At that moment the water is shut off, and the tinstone, after a little further manipulation, is put into tubs or baskets for transport to the store. At one time water-wheels, turning native-made chain pumps and buckets, lifted laboriously by manual labour, were the only means of dealing with the surplus water, but centrifugal pumps, operated by portable steam-engines, are now almost invariably used. Up to recent times the depth reached in open-cast mining did not exceed 60 feet, but with the introduction of mechanical haulage deeper workings was made possible, and now a depth of 100 feet, and even more, is not uncommon. The system of haulage most common is inclined tramways with trucks. The work of loading the trucks

is done by Chinese and Indian coolies at contract rates.

Besides the open-cast system there are three distinct methods of mining for tin, viz., ground sluicing (in which is included hydraulicking), underground workings, and dredging. The first of the three systems can only be resorted to in situations in which there is a good supply of water and a suitable dumping-ground for the *débris* exists. A narrow valley in the hills is the spot most usually selected for the operations. Here the workers, as an indispensable preliminary, cut a channel for a water-course to the face of the hill which it is proposed to work. In connection with this waterway is made a narrow channel or ground sluice, which is given sufficient slope to allow the valueless dirt to be carried off, while the heavier tin-ore remains behind. As soon as the water is turned on, the ground is hoed from the face of the cliff into the sluice, and the material is then stirred with hoes until the process of separating the tinstone from the dross is complete. Hydraulicking, which is a scientific modification of ground-sluicing, consists in directing, under great pressure, by means of nozzles, known as "giants" or "monitors," a stream of water against the face of the hill-side which is to be cut and washed down. The powerful head of water breaks down the hillside and makes possible the subsequent extraction of the tin-ore. Suction dredging is allied to this process of hydraulicking, as stanniferous ground at a low level is broken down by monitors and led to a central sump, from which it is lifted by centrifugal sand-pumps to wooden flumes, in which the tin-ore is separated in the ordinary way. In Kelantan and parts of Perak bucket-dredges have been installed, but the operation of raising the ground, in contradistinction to surface-dredging, is done under water. Underground working is an onerous



SUCTION DREDGE, TIN MINE, RAMBUTAN, PERAK.



OPEN-CAST TIN MINE, SUNGEI BESI, SELANGOR.

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and somewhat uneconomical method of mining at deep levels. By this system the cost of removing the top soil is avoided, but on the other hand heavy charges are incurred for timbering the shafts and drives, which set off this saving. This process of mining, moreover, is very far from being exhaustive. Instances are on record in which an area, having been shafted and abandoned by underground miners as exhausted, has been taken in hand and mined on open-cast principles with brilliant results. This experience is, to a considerable extent, typical of the entire mining field. Sites which have been discarded by Chinese have been worked with modern appliances with advantage to the investors, and in some cases quite rich deposits have been struck. The possibilities of the great Malayan tin-field are thus infinitely great in spite of the enormous extraction of wealth in the past quarter century. The need is for cheap power, which will enable the treatment on scientific principles of the old workings. By the substitution of suction gas for steam a great advance has been made in one mine in Kinta, but the great hope of the future lies in the introduction of electricity. A scheme for turning to account the water power supplied by the Kinta River is under consideration at the present time. If it should prove feasible, the whole outlook of the mining industry may be changed.

Associated with the tin-mining industry, and an important adjunct of it commercially, is the smelting enterprise. Twenty-five years since, the rule was for the miner to smelt his own ore: now it is the exception for him to do so. The usual practice is for the ore to be bought up by licensed purchasers (of whom there are five hundred in the Federated Malay States), and for these individuals to transmit the produce to the smelting establishments situated at various centres. The principal of

these is the Straits Trading Company's works at Singapore and Prai, which are reputed to be the largest of their kind in the world. Another important smelting factory is conducted by the Eastern Smelting Company at Penang. In spite of the conveniences furnished by these modern houses for dealing effectively and economically with the tin-ore, the Chinese miner still adheres to a large extent to his old ways. He uses for his purposes a primitive blast furnace, much the same as that described by Light in the extract quoted in the earlier part of this chapter. His processes are arduous but fairly exhaustive, though the resultant tin which he turns out has to be further treated before it goes to the European market, where a tin of almost theoretical purity is demanded for the tin-plate trade. Chinese smelting is much affected by the state of the market. When prices are rising, the Chinaman is active; when quotations are on the down grade and show a tendency still further to decline, he does not care to enter into too keen rivalry with the scientific smelters in the Colony. As a rule, he manages, after the style of his race, to come very well out of the business either way.

The labour system of the mines deserves a brief description because of its distinctive character. As we might expect to find from the traditions of the tin-mining industry in the Straits, the miners are predominatingly Chinese. In 1911, of a total force of 197,000, all but 8,000 were Chinese. The remainder was composed of Indians, Javanese, and Malays. The engagement of labour proceeds under two heads. In the first system, the employer is the owner of land or the capitalist working the land, who employs labour at his own risk and reaps all the profits. The employment under the second head is where the land is let to

another party or to the actual labourers themselves for a fixed tribute. The practice in the case of the first class of labourers is for most of the men to be engaged to do the main work of a mine under contract at so much a cubic yard. A small minority are employed at fixed wages to do such work as could not reasonably be given out on contract. Up to a recent time, no payment was made to the contract labourer until the end of six months. In the interim he was under advances for food, cash, and all the necessaries of life to the owner of the mine. This obnoxious development of the "truck" system was suppressed by an enactment of the Government declaring such arrangements to be illegal. Under the alternate system of labour the labourers work the mine on co-partnery principles. A local capitalist advances the necessary money or its equivalent in food, stores, &c., and he takes all the risk of the mine turning out a failure. As the tin-ore is mined it is taken to his establishment, and is disposed of by him. When sales are effected the accounts between himself and the labourers are adjusted. The "tribute" system, as it is styled, suits the individual labourer, as a spice of gambling enters into it, and the Chinaman is an inveterate follower of the fickle dame. On the other hand, it is acceptable to the owner, who under the system is able to limit his liabilities—in the case of failure—to the actual necessities of the labourers. The Chinese coolies are housed in long, barn-like structures divided into compartments, in each of which some twenty or thirty labourers are housed. "The roof," says Mr. Dykes in the pamphlet before referred to, "is thatched with palm leaves; the sides are made of badly-fitting, split timbers; and the floor is hardened earth. The labourer's sleeping-place is raised on poles some 3 feet from the ground, and

is made of split bamboo. A cane pillow and a constitute the fittings of his bed. His worldly are kept in a small, long box. His belongings being small and not cumbrous, enable him to disappear silently when the mine he is working in is likely to be a failure and his advances are much beyond what he is likely to reap as the reward of his labour. The men have a common mess, the expenses of which are debited against each equally. They live in perfect harmony with each other, and fights are very rare, except with neighbours, and then generally they only occur owing to encroachment on lands the property of others, or owing to the unlawful deviation of water, so essential to mining operations."

Necessarily in the peculiar circumstances of the industry tin-mining is rigidly controlled by the Government in all its stages from the preliminary acquisition of the land to the disposal of the ore and the smelting of it. The system of regulation is enshrined in a series of statutes, the principal of which are the Mining Enactment, 1911, certain sections of the Land Enactment, 1911, the Labour Enactment, 1912, the Mineral Ores Enactment, 1904, and the Steam Boilers Enactment of 1910. Under the official arrangements a person desiring to acquire mining sites has to apply at the Land Office of the district in which the land is situated. He is charged a premium ranging, at the discretion of the British Resident, at from 2s. 4d. up to £2 18s. 4d. per acre. The latter amount, however, is only charged in exceptional cases. The leases, which are renewable, are, as a rule, for twenty-one years, and the annual rent is 2s. 4d. per acre. The lease confers the right "to work all metals and minerals found upon or beneath the land," on the condition that the lessee does so in a workmanlike manner without causing damage to others. Prospecting licences are also issued under conditions which prescribe the area which is to be

investigated, and in regard to which alone a licence can be issued. The smelting ordinances provide that no person other than the actual producer may smelt ore without a licence, and no person may purchase or keep any place for purchasing any tin-ore without first obtaining a licence. The cost of this licence is £11 13s. 4d. per annum. A special department of the Government supervises the mining operations. In each State the duty of oversight is entrusted to an official who is designated either a Warden or Assistant-Warden, and in supreme charge is a Senior Warden, who is responsible to the Chief Secretary and the Residents of each State. In addition, there is a staff of inspectors of mines, of boilers, and of mineral ore shops. The official control is exercised over an area of approximately 281,000 acres, more than half of which is situated in Perak.

It is not easy to forecast the future of Malayan mining. There have always been pessimists who have talked about the depletion of the tin resources, but the output is steadily maintained, and the latest light on the industry suggests an increase rather than a decrease in the export. But even if tin in the course of years ceases, as it may very well do, to give the brilliant results it has done, there are other sources of mineral wealth still untapped, and probably still undiscovered, in Malaya. Recently a discovery of coal at Rawang, in Selangor, has given promise of a profitable development of the carboniferous deposits of the Peninsula. Wolfram, too, as we have seen, is pushing its way to the front; and who shall say that oil may not one day be found in this region which so closely touches the great oil-bearing areas of Burma on the one hand and Netherlands India on the other. On the whole, there is every reason to think that, vast as has been the mining development in Malaya in the past few years, it has not yet reached its zenith.

CHAPTER XVI

RUBBER AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

Old-time planting enterprise—The rise of the rubber industry—Hevea seedlings sent out to Ceylon and Singapore—Distribution of seeds and plants from Singapore—Pioneer rubber planters in Malaya—Malaya's enormous production of Para rubber—The making of a rubber estate—Tapping and other processes—Pests—The labour supply—The rubber boom—Future prospects of rubber—Coco-nut cultivation.

PLANTING in one form or another has been an important interest in Malaya from the earliest years of the British connection with the region. For close upon two centuries, indeed, it was the only industry that counted in the calculations of the East India Company which, as we have seen, exclusively represented this country in the Middle East from a period commencing with the opening of the seventeenth century until the introduction of direct government by the Crown in 1867. But it was not until the occupation of Penang in 1787 that planting of the modern type came into regular vogue. Light was a far-seeing man, unhampered by the somewhat narrowing traditions of a regular training in the Company's service. He saw at once that the only hope of making Penang a financial success was to hold out inducements to people qualified for the purpose to cultivate the soil. Under a system of free land grants he secured a wide measure of cultivation in the area adjacent to the budding Settlement. The Chinese were

largely the adventurers in this planting speculation, but there was a handful of Europeans also concerned, and it is interesting to note that the planter who took the lead in the protest against the abrogation of Light's land grants by the Company after his death was Mr. Forbes Ross McDonald, the first of the great body of Scotsmen to whom the planting industry in Malaya is so greatly indebted. Coco-nuts, betel-nuts, gambier and pepper were the products chiefly grown, apart from the fruits and food products necessary for the sustenance of the community. Wild hogs, deer, and monkeys played sad havoc with the plantations, but a worse enemy was official indifference. Under the cold shade of neglect, the industry languished for some years, and would probably in time have become extinct if an energetic colonist, a Mr. David Brown, had not in 1814 manfully stepped into the breach and endeavoured to establish a coffee plantation on a large scale. The Government smiled on his venture, and even went the length of subsidising it to a certain extent, but for some reason or other the plantation was a failure. An attempt made at the same period to introduce cotton cultivation under official auspices also came to nothing. On the acquisition of Province Wellesley, a momentary fillip was given to planting enterprise. Land for sugar cultivation was taken up freely, most prominent amongst the planters being some Frenchmen from Mauritius, who had been attracted to the Middle East by the glowing and exaggerated stories of the productiveness of the new territory. For a time, enterprise flourished, but, as a writer of the period remarked, though the Government land regulations were a great improvement on the antiquated system which had arrested development in the past, they stopped short before they

reached the necessary point of liberality. "Instead of placing the whole cultivating population on a fair equal footing by permitting the holders of grants and leases to commute their rents, the commutations were fixed at unequal and in most cases excessive rates." The consequence was that after the first burst of energy the industry diminished in importance until, under the accelerating influence of the Free Trade era at home, it finally flickered out. Planting now dropped back into the old groove in which it had existed from the early years. There was no particular distinctive feature either about the industry or those who engaged in it. Gambier, tapioca, pepper, and pineapples were all produced, and rice, of course, was cultivated.

Coffee, in process of years, obtained a certain vogue, and it was this product which was most favoured by the Europeans who took up land in what are now the Federated Malay States as soon as the conditions were settled enough to justify the outlay of capital. Enterprise in this direction, however, was never particularly flourishing. The price of coffee ultimately fell to such an extent that few of the estates were able to do more than pay their working expenses. It was a black outlook for the industry, unrelieved apparently by one single gleam of hope. Tea, which had saved Ceylon planters in somewhat similar circumstances, was not available, since there was no suitable high ground on which it could be grown. Cinchona, which had so enormously added to the prosperity of Java, was equally out of the question. There appeared to be nothing for planters to do but to take to tin-mining or some other exotic form of enterprise to keep their heads above water. Then, as a counsel almost of despair, the bolder of them took to planting Para rubber on their estates.



WEEDING YOUNG RUBBER.



PLOUGHING NEAR MALACCA FOR RUBBER ESTATE.

They were laughed at by some of their fellow-planters; the public, if they thought on the matter at all, also probably classed them as eccentrics; they themselves in their moments of introspection must have had many questionings. But, as the world knows, events have brilliantly justified their action. Those early rubber trees of Malaya have proved to their owners as veritable a gold-mine as Mount Morgan has done to its possessors.

In the whole history of agriculture there is no more fascinating story than that of the development of the plantation rubber industry. Those who are disposed to regard the British of the present era as lacking in the qualities of their forefathers may be recommended to study it, for it is from beginning to end a record of British scientific skill, commercial enterprise, and organising ability. A mighty commercial force has been called into being, which owes practically nothing to non-British initiative and which is almost exclusively directed by British hands. It is remarkable, having regard to the valuable properties of rubber, that for many generations after its introduction into Europe by the Spaniards no serious effort was made to cultivate the rubber-tree for commercial purposes. The assumption of many writers that only in quite recent years has attention been directed to rubber production outside its South American habitat, is, however, not borne out by the facts. Amongst the earliest records of Penang is a report, written apparently by Captain Kyd, containtaining a suggestion which, if it had been adopted, might have anticipated by a hundred years the founding of the rubber industry in Malaya. The writer, in describing the flora of the island, mentions having seen "a great variety of strong creepers that entwine themselves around all the trees," and goes on to say that one of

these creepers "yields an elastic gum." "The gum," he adds, "is entirely in the bark, which is remarkably thick, and when cut or in the least wounded emits a resinous white juice much resembling cream, which, when exposed to the air, in a very few minutes takes the colour and consistency of the elastic gum, and is exactly in appearance, and answers the same purposes, as the Kaoutchuck of South America, which it may be imagined is also produced from a creeper of the same kind, for I can hardly suppose that nature has given two different plants gums of so very singular qualities and so very similar as these appear to be." In concluding his note on the subject, Captain Kyd wrote: "If this gum can be put to valuable uses, any quantity of it may be collected at Penang as the creeper from which it is extracted is to be found in the greatest plenty." The hint here given was not taken, and rubber faded out of official notice until, just eighty years after these words were penned, a variety of circumstances combined to bring the product once more to the front.

In the interval rubber had made tremendous progress in the commercial world. Hancock's discovery of the process of vulcanisation — a treatment of rubber with sulphur by which its adaptability is enormously increased — had opened up immense new fields for its utilisation. Moreover, there had dawned a finer perception of the unique qualities of the product. This measure of public enlightenment had proceeded simultaneously with a growing difficulty in the collection of the world's supply of rubber from the wild sources—chiefly in the Amazon Valley—from which it had hitherto been imported. The rubber factors, regardless of the ultimate consequences, had ruthlessly destroyed the

trees in their efforts to extract the last ounce of juice from them. Every year their agents had to penetrate farther and farther into the gloomy recesses of the Amazonian forests, and only the immensity of that mysterious region seemed to stand between the consuming public and the complete stoppage of their supplies. In the circumstances, the question of supplementing by cultivation the produce of the forests came prominently to the front. Sir Joseph Hooker, to whom tropical agriculture owes a debt it will never be able to repay, took the first practical step in the direction of carrying out this design, by despatching from Kew Gardens, of which he was then the Director, an emissary to South America to endeavour to secure seeds of the *Hevea Braziliensis*, popularly known as Para rubber, for experiment, with a view to the distribution of plants in the British tropical dependencies. This agent, Mr. James Collins (who afterwards filled the position of Government Botanist at Singapore), brought back with him some hundreds of seeds. Their fertility appears to have been impaired by the journey, for out of the entire supply only about a dozen plants were raised. These were sent to Calcutta, but only to die, as the climate was not suitable. Undeterred by the unpromising results of their first enterprise the Kew authorities, in 1876, commissioned Mr. H. A. Wickham, a British resident of Brazil, whose experiments in rubber cultivation in that country had first attracted Sir Joseph Hooker's attention to the subject, to collect and despatch a consignment of Hevea seeds to Kew. Mr. Wickham responded with alacrity to the summons. For weeks he devoted himself to the task of collecting the seeds for shipment. A happy chance which put at his disposal a large cargo steamer—the first of its kind to penetrate to the upper

part of the Amazon—enabled him to ship his precious collection under the most favourable conditions. A smooth passage, which allowed of air being freely admitted to the holds where the seeds were stored, gave a final touch of good fortune to the venture. In due course the baskets of "oily seeds in their dappled skins" reached Kew. Their arrival in June, 1876, caused the utmost commotion. Orchid and propagating houses were cleared, and the general work of the gardens for the time being was suspended as far as possible to get the experiment under way. The rubber seeds did not fail to respond to the care bestowed upon them. Within a fortnight, there were some seven thousand Hevea plants bursting into life under the glass roofs of the great botanical institution. Growths more commercially precious have probably never been reared in this historical environment. They were the germs from which has sprung the mighty plantation rubber industry, an industry possibly as yet only in its infancy.

From Kew the Hevea seedlings—finally 2,800 in number—found their way into practically every tropical British colony. Most of them, however, went to Ceylon, where the climatic and other conditions were deemed peculiarly suitable to the cultivation. On arrival in the island, the bulk of the plants were dealt with at the Heneratgoda Gardens at Colombo, the remainder being planted at the famous establishment at Peredeniya, near Kandy, on considerably higher ground. Experience proved that the allotment of the plants was judicious. The Colombo section flowered first in 1881, at the age of five; the Peredeniya plants did not come to maturity until three years later. Meanwhile, at Singapore, the first essay in rubber cultivation was proceeding with results even more strikingly favourable. Owing to the loss of

the earliest consignment of seedlings sent out in 1876, it was not until 1877 that a start was made with twenty-two plants sent to the newly founded Botanical Gardens at Singapore. The Curator, Mr. Murton, entered with spirit into the undertaking. Some of the trees he planted in the Singapore Gardens, and others he took with him to Perak and established in Sir Hugh Low's garden and at other places outside which he thought would be favourable to their development. A few years' experience demonstrated what has since been abundantly proved by the final test of commercial success, that Malaya is a specially favoured spot for the growth of rubber. The trees flourished to such an extent under the supervision of Mr. Murton and his successor, Mr. Cantley, that Singapore was actually in a position in 1883 to send seeds to Ceylon, and in the ensuing year to distribute plants to Borneo and other parts of the world. In Malaya itself the cultivation only made headway against a certain amount of prejudice. Mr. Henry N. Ridley, C.M.G., who is widely regarded in Malaya as the father of the industry, and who is shortly to receive a testimonial from the planters of Malaya as "a permanent and useful token" of their sentiments of gratitude for his great services, has related some quaint experiences illustrative of his difficulties under this head. After mentioning that he had been officially reprimanded for "wasting his time" upon the rubber-tree, he tells a story of how one day, when he had at length "worried the planters into trying this cultivation," a Dyak was sent up to the top of one of the old trees of the Sir Hugh Low period in Perak and told to get some rubber. The Dyak, Mr. Ridley states, went up the tree, but quickly came back and said there was none. "Soon after down came one hundred of the finest trees in the

Peninsula. Mr. R. Derry then attacked the rest of the trees and took out a quantity of first-class rubber and sold it in London at a good price and stopped the reaction against rubber which set in immediately the story was published that an official had proved the Para tree valueless."

It was from the Singapore trees that Malaya was planted with rubber. The process, as Mr. Ridley says, was slow. It required more than common faith to sink capital in a growth which took four or five years to come even to the producing stage. Although experimental tapping commenced in the Singapore gardens in 1888, and an actual sale of sheet-rubber prepared by Mr. Derry in the circumstances related was effected in London in 1899, planters were not readily induced to embark upon the industry. Still, the fall in the price of coffee and other causes acted powerfully in the long run to favour the rubber industry. Amongst the pioneers in the Federated Malay States were Messrs. R. C. M. and D. C. P. Kindersley, and in the older colonial territory the first to plant on an extensive scale was a Chinese gentleman, Mr. Tan Chay Yen, of Malacca. The start in these instances was made in 1895, and it was three years later before any further development of importance took place. The fresh lead then given by the late Mr. W. W. Bailey, however, was so spiritedly followed that the industry had soon passed beyond the experimental stage. A factor which greatly strengthened the confidence of planters in the new enterprise was the rise of the motor-car. None were so blind as not to be able to perceive that in this invention was introduced a potent influence making for profit in the rubber world. Estates were now planted on all sides, both in the Colony and in the Federated Malay States. Development at the outset was most actively prosecuted in Selangor between Port

Swettenham and Kuala Lumpur where a number of coffee estates supplied land favourable to rapid planting. But the operations were quickly extended to other districts where virgin ground was taken up for the rubber plantations. Localities into which up to this period no white man had ever penetrated, became centres of importance in the great commercial world. The forest was cleared, roads were constructed, permanent buildings were erected, and the whole countryside gave evidence of that irrepressible energy which is associated with wholesome European enterprise. The Singapore authorities, who had a little previously found it difficult to get any one to take plants off their hands, were now inundated with applications from all parts of the world, and particularly from the other tropical dependencies of the Empire. Within a comparatively short period, no fewer than nine millions of seeds and plants were despatched to Liberia, Nigeria, Uganda, Burma, Assam, Southern India, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Christmas Island, New Guinea, Australia, Fiji, Samoa, China and Cochin China, Japan, Siam, British Guiana, Honduras and the West Indies. Ceylon was also extensively indented upon, and did its part in distributing the indispensable seeds and plants. In the whole history of the world, there had never been such an extensive circulation of a botanical specimen. Some may question the altruism which gave to the universe the products of an enterprise which was so exclusively British. But it cannot be said that our country has suffered from its liberality. The wide diffusion of the plants has had many uses, but none more commercially important than the inculcation of the lesson that the finest natural field for rubber cultivation is the region in which the industry first took root. British Malaya enjoys its pre-eminence largely by reason of its climate. In its native habitat in the Amazon, the rubber-

tree flourishes in a warm, moisture-laden atmosphere maintained throughout the year with little variation. In the British territory in the Straits, these are the conditions which prevail, and to them is added the advantage of a fine alluvial soil which encourages healthy root growth. Viewing these flourishing plantations mile after mile as one passes through the country, it is impossible not to realise that the tree has found its true home. The growth is almost everywhere luxurious, and in some places it is phenomenal. There is a tree in the Singapore Botanic Gardens which attained the height of 100 feet and the girth of 72 inches, three feet from the ground, in fifteen years. On many of the estates equally striking cases of rapid development could be adduced. Indeed, so kindly has the Para rubber taken to the Malay soil that in the last report of Mr. L. Lewton-Brain, the Director of Agriculture, Federated Malay States, we find a warning against planting trees at closer intervals than those allowed by a provision of one hundred trees to the acre. In Malaya, as in the greater part of the tropical world, the Para variety holds unchallenged sway. Ceara Rubber, the *Manihot Glaziovi* of Brazil, has been cultivated with some success in Java, Castilloa finds favour in Mexico, and attention has been given in Sumatra to *Ficus Elastica*, the Rambong of Malaya or Karet of Java; while experiments at different times have been made with Willughbeias, Funtumias, Landolphias and Manicoba rubbers. But for profitable production in the Middle East, at all events, there is nothing to equal the *Hevea Braziliensis*. The best test of its suitability is the extraordinary rapidity with which Malaya has leapt into the very forefront of rubber-producing countries. Its total production in 1911, given in the latest official report at 11,118 tons, contrasts with an export of 22,000 tons for the whole of Africa which has



RUBBER ESTATE, MANAGER'S BUNGALOW.



PARA RUBBER TREES, CAREY'S ISLAND, SELANGOR. FOUR YEARS OLD.

hitherto supplied 25 per cent. of the world's crop. But as the African rubber loses as much as from 20 to 40 per cent. in purification, and the Malayan rubber only 1 per cent., the difference between the production of the two countries is even less than that represented by the figures. Such as it is, it will speedily lessen, for while the African output is almost stationary, that of Malaya is mounting by leaps and bounds. In 1911 the increase reached the high figure of 70 per cent. Progress will not be less probably in the next few years. Mr. Lewton-Brain calculates that in the not distant future, when all the trees at present planted are in bearing, the production of rubber in Malaya will reach the enormous aggregate of 72,000 tons. And this is a conservative estimate based on the supposition that each acre will produce on an average not more than 300 lb. of dry rubber per year—an amount that is very largely exceeded on good estates. Nor, of course, does the present acreage, which for the whole of Malaya touches the high figure of 542,877, represent finality. There are, especially in the new territory just brought into the British system, vast areas of land eminently suited for rubber cultivation, and unless the industry gets a great set-back, which does not at the time of writing seem probable, the new territory will certainly be dealt with in the next few years. Thus, the time may approach when Malaya alone will supply as large an amount of rubber as is represented by the total production of all countries to-day, which stands at about 90,000 tons.

Figures are best introduced sparingly in a work such as this, but there are many interesting points connected with the development of the Malayan rubber industry which can only be adequately brought out by the statistical method. No apology, therefore, is needed for giving here the following table, which illustrates in detail the impres-

sive growth of this wonderful new factor in Malayan prosperity :—

Year.	No. of Estates.	Acreage under Rubber.	Quantity Exported.	Value in Sterling.	Labourers on Estates.
			lb.	£	
1906	254	99,230	1,035,601	399,000	39,274[1]
1907	365	179,227	1,998,889	785,000	74,871
1908	417	241,138	3,186,099	882,000	78,366
1909	534	292,035	6,112,023	2,340,000	110,213
1910	632	362,853	12,245,864	5,695,000	179,030
1911	964	542,877	23,914,263	5,925,000	227,985

A striking point brought out in the tables is the rapid increase in acreage. In the Federated Malay States the amount under rubber cultivation in 1911 was nearly double that in 1910, which, again, was higher than in any previous year. The largest increase in 1911 was in Perak, where 40,791 acres were newly opened, against 15,612 in 1910.

Picturesqueness is not one of the qualities of a rubber estate, in the early stage of its development, at all events. Stern necessity has dictated the removal, literally root and branch, of all the trees and undergrowth which formerly covered the land, and in their place are seen only the monotonous lines of the rubber-trees, which, transplanted from their nursery beds, grow somewhat forlornly amid the charred *débris* of their predecessors, whose fallen remains have been burnt as a sort of preliminary offering to the goddess Rubber. For a space this fire-scarred appearance of the landscape continues; but in this part of the world, where a railway cutting is made one month and another month is so well covered with verdure that the markings of the soil cannot be seen, the wounds made upon Nature quickly heal, and the rubber plantations speedily assume a mantle of verdure

[1] Federated Malay States only.

thickening as the years proceed, until in due course the countryside has the appearance of an impenetrable forest. The practice of close planting followed in some cases has hastened the inevitable closing in of the umbrageous covering of the land. But a penalty has had, or will have, to be paid for the early maturity of the plantation in reduced production. Experience has shown that the best results are obtained when the trees are allowed full freedom to develop. In these cases the latex supply is well maintained, and increases steadily as the years go on until it reaches a high figure. How long the productivity of a tree thus planted continues has not been as yet clearly ascertained, but Mr. Ridley advances the view that tapping can be continued for forty years if the tree is carefully treated. He states that there are trees of double that age in Brazil. The tapping process usually begins when the tree is in its fourth year, though in some cases an earlier period is adopted. Lines in the form of a herring-bone, a half herring-bone, or a single V, are drawn upon the bark of the tree from a point in the trunk as high as a man can reach from the ground. Using a sharp knife, the tapper then makes an incision which does not go deeper than the cambium, or the living layer of the tree. At the base of the tree is placed a cup to receive the latex. Every morning, as soon after sunrise as possible, the operator pares a fine slice off the upper side of each side-cut to promote the flow of the juice. At the outset there is little latex, especially in the case of virgin trees, but about the fourth day the flow becomes marked and the cups are soon filled. At regular intervals the cups at the trees are emptied into cans, and the latex removed to the factory. Here it is strained and then poured into trays or vats to set. At the end of from twelve to twenty-four hours it is sufficiently firm to undergo the rolling process,

which converts it into the crêpe or sheet rubber of commerce. Subsequently it undergoes the final process of smoking in houses which in places somewhat resemble the hop-drying houses so familiar in Kent. The smoking gives to the rubber qualities which are valued in the market, and it is now invariably followed. The method in vogue in the Amazon Valley is to smoke the latex itself, and in recent years many experiments have been made with the object of reproducing the process by means of machinery. "In the result," Mr. Ridley says, "a method of smoking latex by machinery has been invented that, in the opinion of experts who have seen it in operation, bids fair to eclipse in cheapness and in developing strength and tensility in the rubber any other methods of treating the latex."

The rubber planter has to cope with a good many pests. Amongst them white ants—*Termes Gestroi*—are the most formidable. Their ravages are very serious where they once get a foothold. Thanks to the steady crusade which has been prosecuted against them they are, happily, on the decrease. A minute beetle—*Xyleborus Parvulus*, of the family Scolytidæ—is another enemy whose extensive operations have commanded serious attention. Then there is the cricket, *Brachytrypes Achatinus*, which has created consternation in some directions by its attacks on young clearings. The practice of the objectionable little creature is to emerge from its burrow during the night and nibble the shoots of the young rubber stumps. In some instances an entire plantation has been cleared of green shoots by this cricket. Yet another pest which works similar havoc is a species of beetle closely allied to Xylotrupes, and the coco-nut beetle, *Cryctes Rhinoceros*, is also suspect. Against these and other evil visitations a constant warfare is waged under the skilful advice of the Agricultural

Department, which spares no effort to keep the planter well informed as to the best remedies to apply. On the whole, there is, perhaps, less mischief done in the case of rubber by pests than in any other production in tropical agriculture. The trees, once they have emerged from the youthful stage, enter upon a healthy period of growth, in which they appear to be immune from serious attack under any ordinarily careful system of supervision. It has been much debated whether manuring should not be resorted to, but so far the only cultivation given to rubber-trees consists, to use the words of the Director of Agriculture, in "a scraping of the surface of the soil to remove weeds." Mr. Lewton-Brain is of the opinion that more than this is required, and recommends that "at least once a year, and probably twice would be better, the soil should receive a thorough cultivation to a depth of at least four inches." In many cases, the writer adds, the conditions would be improved by giving the soil at the same time a good dressing of lime.

In surveying the field of achievement in the domain of rubber, it is only fair to say that not a little of the success that has attended the enterprise is due to the Government labour policy. Under official guidance, and conspicuously under the efficient direction of Sir William Taylor, who throughout his term of service as Resident-General showed a warm interest in the immigration of natives of India, the stream of labour into the planting districts has undergone no serious check from the outset, in spite of competitive claims of a formidable kind from Ceylon and elsewhere. The regulations have hit a happy medium between undue strictness and laxity. The natives are well protected in all ways, and the planter is not harassed by unnecessary supervision. There is grumbling, of course, as there always will be where there is official interference in the working of

an industry. Occasionally there is talk at company meetings of the burdens which the Government system imposes upon the planters. But when all is said, everybody recognises that the action taken is the only possible one in territory under British administration. What the system amounts to is a sort of paternal guardianship of the coolies by the Government. The labourers are recruited in Madras, under the supervision of official agents, and are taken in batches to Government depôts at Madras and Negapatam. From hence they are drafted by weekly steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company, specially subsidised by the Straits Government, to Malaya. The cost of their passage is defrayed from a fund known as the Immigration Fund, into which the proceeds of an assessment levied on all employers of Tamil labour is paid. This assessment is paid by Government departments as well as by private employers, and is calculated upon the number of days' work done for each employer by his Tamil labourers. As far as the coolies are concerned they could hardly be more happily placed. They are under no obligation to repay their passage, and they can leave their employment on an estate if it is distasteful on giving a month's notice. In general, however, they settle down very happily to an existence which, if not exactly of the lotus-eating kind, is at least a healthy and not at all an arduous one. The Government are careful to see that they are well housed, have a proper supply of drinking-water, and are provided with adequate sanitary conveniences. To secure the due enforcement of the regulations in these particulars, a staff of inspectors pay periodical visits to the estates.

In the working of the rubber estates a great variety of labour is employed. Tamils and Chinese constitute the two main bodies of the little army of 166,015 which has

been mobilised for work in the plantations. In Selangor the former class are in the ascendant, supplying in 1911 37,000 out of a total of 71,000 labourers. Perak has a smaller proportion of Tamils, but they still number over one-half the total. In Negri Sembilan the Chinese have a slight advantage, and they are the largest single labour force in Johore, Kelantan, and Kedah. In the Straits the Tamils have the superiority, but the Chinese are also present in large numbers. Javanese, Malays, and others contribute to the labour ranks, but in the aggregate they are not important factors. The real backbone of the working organisation is supplied by the two races first named. Each has its advocates, and each undoubtedly has its peculiar qualities. At times doubts have been expressed whether the supply of hands to the plantations would keep pace with the enormous strides made by the industry. There has certainly been an increasing appreciation of the wage scale now for some time past, and labour is not always so readily secured as could be desired. But there are no signs of any real falling off in the flow of immigrants from India on the one hand and China on the other. The coolies who enter Malaya do so with a full assurance that they will receive not only handsome wages and fair treatment, but will be looked after in sickness and health with a solicitude which is beyond cavil.

The increase in the cost of labour, due in part to the necessarily heavy expenses imposed by the Government regulations, has been a source of some embarrassment in the Share Market, but it is probably not to be seriously regretted in view of the vital importance to the industry of the maintenance of good health conditions. Certainly, nothing would be better calculated to give the prosperity of the rubber plantations a really serious check than neglect of sanitation. A more legitimate point for criticism is

afforded by the Government policy of imposing an export duty on rubber. In the case of tin, there is a good deal to be said for an impost of the kind, because the tin exported is in the nature of capital which cannot be replaced. Moreover, Malaya has a modified monopoly of the product. Rubber is in quite a different category. Its production adds to, rather than detracts from, the natural wealth of the country, and there is unrestrained competition in the product. There is abundant food for reflection in the thought that a rubber export duty is peculiar to Malaya, and that just across the Straits, in Sumatra, enormous rubber development is going on. A wise statesmanship would place no handicap on the industry beyond, at all events, the initial stage when costly Government construction works, such as roads and the provision of hospitals and water-supplies, had to be undertaken.

Much has been written about the financial aspect of rubber cultivation. The subject is one which lends itself to the fascinating art of speculation, and many have fallen victims to the temptation offered. From its birth the industry has been distinguished by remarkable fluctuations in the price of the produce of the plantations. In 1896 the valuation of Para rubber from Malaya was no more than 2s. 8d. per pound. The next year the figure was slightly higher, and again there were further small rises in 1898 and 1899, when 3s. 3d. and 3s. 10d. were the respective prices. The steady rise in the quotations indicated an increasing appreciation of the quality of the rubber grown in the Middle East. Early prejudices, based on the supposition that the article was merely an improved type of wild rubber, were lived down, and manufacturers came to realise that the Malayan article was the very best of its kind on the market. The increased demand due to the development of the motor trade did the rest. Prices



TAMIL COOLIES TAPPING RUBBER TREES.



YOUNG RUBBER TREES, CAREY'S ISLAND, SELANGOR.

mounted rapidly as the months went by. The public notice was arrested by the phenomenon. Investors entered the market intent on winning a share in so promising an industry. Still the price of rubber rose steadily. There was now a feverish disposition to exploit the position on the part of that section of the financial world which hangs on to the skirts of any striking movement affecting investments. Estates, good, bad, and indifferent, changed hands at extraordinary rates. Fortunes were made in a few days by men who a year or two previously had barely a sovereign in their pockets. Meanwhile, the price of rubber, forced up partly by market exigencies, partly by the manipulation of speculators, had reached, in 1910, the extraordinary figure of 11s. a pound. The gambling fever now took an even stronger form. Every one, almost, joined in the mad rush for shares. On the market were launched ventures transparently dishonest. They were swallowed with avidity with the best of the enterprises. Some people acted on the principle of taking shares in everything, being well assured by the state of the market that they would be able in a day or two to unload at a handsome profit. Of course, the process could not be continued indefinitely. There came a point when the world realised that 11s. a pound for rubber was an altogether artificial price, and that estimates based upon it, or any rate approaching it, were bound to prove fallacious. The process of disillusionment was rapid when it once set in. Prices tumbled down at an alarming rate in the case of the best companies: the scrip of the worst concerns was absolutely unsaleable. Shrewd speculators went off to enjoy their easily-acquired fortunes, while the investing public at large, which had had to pay the piper, retired to meditate on the vanity of human expectations where the Share

Market is concerned. In the end, no permanent harm was probably done by the episode to the rubber industry. At a price, possibly a high one, the lesson had been inculcated that the interests of the product lie in a steady pursuance of ordinary commercial methods rather than in the rushes of a period of inflation in which the true value of the article is distorted by exaggerated speculation on the one hand and bogus promotion on the other. Out of the welter of the boom has emerged a deep, abiding belief in the future of rubber, and a confident assurance on the stability and interest-earning capacities of all well-managed estates in Malaya.

The price of rubber, as every one has foreseen, has fallen considerably from the top price of the boom period. It may go lower yet, when the full tide of production sets in a few years hence. But looking at the governing factors of the position—the enormous growth in the consumption of rubber, the shrinkage of the old sources of supply of wild rubber, the better scientific methods that now prevail of dealing with the various processes of rubber production, all tending towards economical development—there is no serious reason to fear that for long years to come there will not be a handsome margin between the cost of production and the selling price. The former, it is true, has still to reach a settled standard. At present there are wide differences in the ascertained rates, as the following table, extracted from the last report of the Director of Agriculture, Federated Malay States, will show :—

	Highest.	Lowest.
Perak	2·40	0·19
Selangor	3·78	0·23
Negri Sembilan	2·46	0·24
Pahang	1·90	0·60

The variations are so enormous as to suggest that great changes will occur before the figure is adjusted with anything like permanency. That future developments should be in the direction of a fairly low rate seems probable, having regard to the fact that the maturing of the rubber-trees will not necessarily coincide with any material increase in the labour bill. The standard to-day may be taken on good estates at 1s. 6d. This, or something near it, will probably be the general rate throughout the producing area. In some years, it may be affected by abnormal conditions, such as an unusually dry season. As a general rule, Malaya does not suffer from serious drought, but the experience in the early months of 1911, when water had to be conveyed long distances for stock and for drinking purposes, and when there was everywhere a serious shrinkage in the supply, shows that this is a contingency which has to be reckoned with. On the other hand, it is open to doubt whether the full financial possibilities of rubber estates have been reached when the rubber has been marketed. There are by-products of the article, which, if they can be turned to commercial account, as they probably can, will immensely enhance the revenue-earning capacity of the estates. For example, the rubber seeds contain an oil which has some of the qualities of cotton-seed oil, and may be expected eventually to take a place with it in the market. Experiments made in the production of a cake for cattle-feeding purposes have been very promising. If the final results are equally satisfactory, the effect on the interests of the rubber industry must be markedly favourable.

Quite recently a formidable rival to rubber in the affections of the planters of Malaya has arisen in the coco-nut. The circumstance is due to the increasing use made by Western manufacturers of margarine and soap of the pro-

ducts of the nut. The natural fats which are extracted from the kernel are precisely those which are required for the productions named. Not so very many years since animal fats were almost exclusively resorted to, but the East having been indented upon for material by some of the most enterprising firms, the practice became general, and now the disposition is more and more to lean upon the coco-nut for the main supplies of the manufacturers' requirements. A significant indication of the trend of commercial opinion in this matter is the taking up of land by some of the largest home firms. The coco-nut only grows profitably in certain tropical areas near the sea, and it is no doubt recognised that the increased consumption will eventually lead to very high prices. In Malaya, the conditions are almost ideal for coco-nut cultivation. The warm, moist climate which is so congenial to rubber is equally suited to the coco-nut, and the great expanses of practically virgin soil in suitable situations for the culture are just the sites required for plantations. In 1911 there were under cultivation in the Federated Malay States approximately 142,774 acres, or 12,430 acres more than in the previous year. The cultivation is distributed as follows:—

	Acres.
Perak	73,120
Selangor	33,355
Negri Sembilan	19,584
Pahang...	16,715

From this area, it is estimated that there will be produced 65,000 tons of copra—the dried husk of the coco-nut—provided all the nuts are converted into that product. The total value of the copra actually produced in 1911 was £181,183. Apart from copra, the coco-nut tree produces important articles of commerce. Indeed, there is

no other tree in the world which is put to so many uses. Coir, the rough hair-like substance of the outer husk, is invaluable for mats and brooms, the leaves supply material for baskets, and the juice from the spathe or blossom of the tree can be converted into sugar or toddy, a strong fermented drink much in vogue in the East. There is, therefore, every likelihood that a highly valuable new industry will be built up as an adjunct to rubber. At present the enterprise is only in its infancy, but the Government, with an eye to future revenue, are offering such encouragement to the taking up of land that it is bound to make headway. The terms on which land may be acquired are a premium varying from 4s. 8d. to 7s. per acre, according to road frontage. The annual quit rent for the first six years is 2s. 4d. per acre, and afterwards on first-class land 9s. 4d. per acre, but a rebate of 4s. 8d. per acre is allowed if the land is planted up with coco-nuts only. It is imperative in the case of blocks up to 640 acres that planting should be commenced within a year from the time the grant is obtained or from the time of occupation, whichever comes first, and a quarter of the area must be brought into cultivation within five years from that period. Over a large area the rent and premium are the same, but the conditions may vary according to circumstances. For the assistance of intending planters, a most useful booklet is issued by the Agricultural Department, giving cultural directions and other information likely to be of service. A special note has been made of precautions which must be adopted against pests, of which there appear to be many. Wild hog, who give great trouble, it is suggested, may be kept off where there is no fence by a small piece of rag soaked in Zotal or Jeyes Purifier, and tied to one of the lower leaves near the ground. Means to an end more simple, it would seem,

could hardly be devised. Black beetles also, it seems, can be effectually dealt with by the same chemical compound mixed with sand and applied copiously to the cavities at the junction of the leaves with the trunk. But the dreaded red beetle, which has won an unenviable distinction by its attacks upon coco-nut palms in different parts of the East, is not so readily exorcised. In the opinion of experts, once a tree is really infected with this pest the only thing to be done is to cut the tree down and destroy it. It is consoling, however, to know that the beetle can hardly ever attack the trees if proper attention be paid to them.

Agricultural products, other than rubber and coco-nuts, and possibly padi, to which 104,428 acres were devoted in the Federated Malay States in 1911, do not contribute materially to the prosperity of the territory. Coffee still has a footing, however, and a little sugar is grown, chiefly as a catch crop, while a certain amount of fruit is produced in the vicinity of the Settlements. It would be unsafe to predict that these conditions will continue to prevail in Malaya. In planting nothing is so uncertain as the future, and may be, before many years have run, the sturdy representatives of Britain in the Malayan planting community will be offering incense to some new god or goddess whose charms have captured their fancy. Meantime, however, we may be content to subscribe to the following sentiments in the last report of Mr. Lewton-Brain which seem admirably to fit the situation: "With two such highly paying and well-established industries as Para rubber and coco-nuts, Malaya is exceptionally well situated as regards agricultural prospects. Neither of these is, in my opinion, likely to show any signs of failure for many years to come. There may be bad times ahead when plantation rubber begins to supply the world's consumption, and some of the



WINNOWING PADI.



PLOUGHING RICEFIELDS, NEAR ALOR STAR, KEDAH.

weaker concerns may succumb to the drop in prices that will probably result. Speaking generally, however, rubber plantations in Malaya are quite capable of withstanding any competition that can at present be foreseen, and paying well at a much lower price for rubber than is likely to obtain for a few years, and at as low a price as is ever likely to obtain."

CHAPTER XVII

THE PEOPLE: THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND OCCUPATIONS

Aboriginal tribes—Their traditions—The Creation and the Flood—The Malays—Their characteristics—Malay industries—The Straits Chinese—The Indian population—Changing aspects of the population.

MALAYA has sometimes been regarded as a country in which the interests are divided between British, Malays, Chinese, and Indians. Broadly speaking, this undoubtedly is the case, but a good many other elements go to make up the complete community. In point of fact, Malaya is ethnologically one of the most varied and interesting of the possessions of the Crown. The population, drawn from many widely separated centres—centres racially distinct and strongly marked in their peculiar anthropological characteristics—presents an extraordinary diversity, and affords, in consequence, a field of scientific investigation of the highest value. In this tongue of land stretching out into the ocean, and largely isolated from the Asiatic continent, have been racial currents and eddies which have baffled so far the skill of ethnologists to explain fully. The great question of the origin of the Malays, for example, has yet to be finally settled and with it those fascinating problems associated with the ancient Indian civilization of Java, which have occupied the attention of every great Anglo-Malayan writer from the time of

Raffles onwards. Science is doing much to unravel these mysteries, and it may be relied on to do more in the future as the country is opened up and new light is possibly thrown on points at present unintelligible or obscure. A hopeful feature is the enthusiasm for scientific investigation shown by the younger members of the Straits Civil Service. The spirit of patient and laborious research which shone so conspicuously in the careers of Raffles, of Crawfurd, and of Logan survives in the work of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, who, in the last few years, has done much to elucidate the characteristics of the people of Malaya.

At the top of the ethnological tree of Malaya is to be found several distinct aboriginal tribes presenting features of peculiar interest. Scientifically they are classed in the following seven main groups: (1) the Negritoes; (2) the Northern Sakai; (3) the Central Sakai; (4) the Besisi; (5) the Jakun; (6) the aborigines of Gunong Benom; and (7) the Malay-speaking aborigines. The Negritoes are differentiated from the other tribes by their dark colour, negroid features, and frizzled hair. They live chiefly on the banks of the Perak River, in the valleys and tributaries of the Upper Perak River, and the Pangan of Pahang. The Northern Sakai are a wavy-haired people, rather fairer than the Negritoes, but—owing probably to Negrito mixture—not so fair as the Central Sakai farther south. Mr. Wilkinson, in his contribution to the last census report, to which we are indebted for many interesting details, states that in the high mountains remote from civilisation they have a relatively high culture and live in large communities in communal houses. Akin to the Northern Sakai and presenting many characteristics in common with them, the Central Sakai are a fairer race and speak a different dialect. The Besisi are a mixed

race, living in small communities on the plains of Selangor and Negri Sembilan to the south-west of the main range. They are less exclusive than their congeners in other districts, and on that account are becoming merged in the general population. The Jakun are aboriginal communities who inhabit the plains and lower hill country of the interior of Pahang. Though they speak a language of their own, they are classed by the Malays amongst the Malay-speaking aborigines who live in the coast district of Pahang. The Gunong Benom aborigines speak a distinct dialect, a fact which was discovered only at the last census, and it seems likely that the characteristic may imply racial differences, though on this point nothing can be said at present, nor is it possible to give the racial affinities of the tribe. In regard to the last of the group, the Malay-speaking tribes, the fact that Malay is spoken does not imply that they have abandoned their own language for the use of Malay. On the contrary, Mr. Wilkinson suggests "it is probable that the use of a Malayan dialect by the tribes known as 'Biduanda,' 'Blandas,' or 'Mantra' ante-dates the first coming of the Malays to Malacca." The group is embraced in two principal divisions—the Biduanda tribe already referred to and the Malay-speaking Jakun of Johore, Kuala Pilah, and the Pahang coast. The Biduanda are hill tribes of very primitive culture and very distinctive beliefs. They inhabit the main range (especially the Selangor side of it) from Ulu Selangor to Tampin. The Malay-speaking Jakun live in the plains, and are noted for the peculiar "riddling descriptive" language they use. Experience goes to show that the knowledge of the tribal system of the Peninsula is yet very incomplete, in spite of the elaborate investigations of Mr. Skeat and other scientists who have devoted much attention and skill to the beliefs

and customs of the tribesmen. The more remote tribes of the interior, which has been little visited, may yet have points of special interest and importance to disclose for the better understanding of the ethnological system of Malaya.

Numerically the aborigines are, and probably in recent times always have been, insignificant. For a long time located for the most part in the recesses of forests or living on remote mountains far from civilisation, their numbers were a matter of pure speculation. Special pains, however, were taken at the last two censuses to secure a thorough enumeration of all the tribesmen in the Federated Malay States, and a fairly accurate approximation has been obtained of the size of this interesting element in the population. At the census of 1901 the total recorded was 18,574. In 1911 the much larger number of 26,277 was returned. The difference is not due, as Mr. A. M. Pountney, the superintendent of the census, is careful to explain, to growth of the population, but to more effective enumeration. In order to secure reliable figures various expedients were adopted. The giving of a feast to the tribesmen at convenient centres was one plan followed. But the best results were obtained by sending enumerators into the wilds and getting particulars of the tribes by the exercise of a simple device which is explained by Mr. Wilkinson in some interesting sentences in his report. "It was known," he says, "that the Northern Sakai, a specially shy tribe, used a peculiar word, 'lôᵗ,' for blood. The enumerators were given the Malay word for blood, and were asked to obtain and note the aboriginal equivalent on their schedules. In no case did any enumerator who was sent to the Northern Sakai in Upper Perak, Kuala Kangsar, or Kinta bring back any word except the correct word 'lôᵗ' on his schedules. This word was, of course, only one of the ten

key-words, and the rest of the vocabulary was of equal accuracy."

The degree of civilisation amongst the tribes varies to a very considerable extent. The Northern Sakai practise agriculture and live in small houses. The Besisi tribes also cultivate the soil, build houses, have some artistic sense, are fond of music, possess a few primitive songs, and know something of the art of navigation. On the other hand, some of the Negrito tribes are extremely nomadic; they are not acquainted with any form of agriculture; they use bows and arrows; they live in mere leaf shelters with floors that are not raised above the ground; their quivers and other bamboo utensils are very roughly made and adorned. The tribes have traditions which, from their extraordinary character, have attracted much attention from students of folk-lore. One very common belief which is widely spread among the tribes relates to a great cataclysm—a universal conflagration or a flood. A version which Logan gives of this curious legend is the following:—

"In ancient times Perman (the Deity) broke up this skin (the skin of the earth) so that the world was destroyed and overwhelmed with water. Afterwards he caused Gunong Lulumut, together with Chemundang and Bechuak (hills in Johore), to rise out of the water, this lowland we now inhabit being formed later. These mountains in the south, together with Mount Ophir (Gunong Ledang), the mountains of Kaf (Gunong Kap), Flute Pillar Hill (Gunong Tongkat Bangsi), and Gunong Tongkat Subang on the north, give a fixity to the earth's skin. The earth still depends entirely upon these mountains for steadiness. . . . When Lulumut had already emerged, a ship (prahu) of 'pulai' wood, completely covered over and without any opening, was left floating on the waters. In this Perman

had enclosed a man and a woman whom he had created. After the lapse of some time the vessel no longer progressed, either with or against the current, and ceased to be driven to and fro. The man and woman, therefore, feeling it to be motionless, nibbled their way through it and, standing upon the dry ground, beheld this our world. At first, however, everything was obscure. There was neither morning nor evening, because the sun had not yet been created. When it became light they saw seven small wild rhododendron ('sendudo') shrubs and seven clumps of the grass called 'samban.' They then remarked to each other, 'In what a condition are we left, lacking both children and grandchildren!' Some time afterwards, however, the woman conceived—not, however, in her womb, but in the calves of her legs. From the right leg came forth a male and from the left a female child. Hence it is that the issue of the same womb cannot intermarry. All mankind are the descendants of the two children of the first pair. When men had much increased Perman looked down upon them and reckoned their numbers with pleasure."

Another quaint version of the same tradition is given by Messrs. Skeat and Blagden in their monumental work, "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," in the following amusing words:—

"Till the time of Batin, Lord-knows-who, men never used to drink; no water was to be had and the sensation of thirst was unknown. It came about in this way. One day Lord-knows-who, having shot a monkey with a blowpipe, made a fire, at which he smoked and ate it. Some time after he became sensible of a desire to imbibe something and went about in search of water, but found none, not even a water-giving liana or monkey-rope ('akar'), for lianas did not produce water at that time. At last, how-

ever, he came upon an old stump of a tree called 'jèlotong,' and on listening at a hole in it heard the sound of water trickling below. He therefore fastened a liana to the top of the tree outside and by this means let himself down into the hole until he reached the water, where he slaked his thirst. He then made his way out again by means of the creeper, and just as he was leaving the spot saw a large white river-turtle issue from the hole accompanied by a vast body of water and begin to chase him. Lord-knows-who, therefore, ran for his life, and called to the elephant for help, but they were both driven back by the rush of water. Lord-knows-who then encountered a tiger, whose help he likewise begged, and the tiger attacked the turtle's head, but failed to produce any impression. Lord-knows-who, therefore, continued his flight until he met a wild bull ('seladang'), whom he implored to come to his rescue, and the bull proceeded to trample upon the turtle, but all to no purpose. Lord-knows-who next begged the aid of the rhinoceros, but equally without effect, as both of them were compelled to fly from the turtle. At length Lord-knows-who was forced to apply for the intervention of a mouse-deer ('kanchil'), which is the smallest of all the deer kind and not so large as a hare, whereupon the mouse-deer said, 'What good can be done by small creatures like ourselves?' Lord-knows-who said, 'I have asked all the others and they have been able to do nothing.' Then said the mouse-deer, 'Very well, we will try; do you, therefore, get on one side.' But the mouse-deer forthwith called together an army of mouse-deer—in fact, the entire race—and said, 'If we do not kill the turtle we all perish, but if we kill him all is well.' Then they all jumped on the turtle, which was of great size, and stamped on him with their tiny hoofs until they had driven holes through his head and neck and back and thus killed him. But



MALAYS, TIUMAN ISLAND, PAHANG.



ABORIGINES (SENOI MEN), BATANG PADANG, PERAK.

To face p. 312.

meanwhile the body of water which accompanied the turtle had increased to a vast extent and formed what is now the sea."

When we turn from these interesting people with their delightful traditions to the more civilised Malays, we are confronted with difficulties regarding origin scarcely less formidable than those which enshroud the ancestry of the wild tribesmen. The Malay version of the descent of their princes from Alexander, the great Macedonian, may be dismissed as a fantastic invention. It has nothing to support it, and is wildly improbable on the face of it. But the Malays may very well have had an Indian, or at least a Central Asiatic, origin. Their incorporation of the Sanscrit honorific "Sri" in their titles suggests that their Palembang forebears, in the far-off times of which ancient Chinese writers speak, must have had some association with the classic land which was its home. Additional evidence in the same direction is furnished by the statements of the Chinese annalists that the kings of Palembang, who sent ambassadors to the Chinese Emperors in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, used the Sanscrit characters in their writings, and that one of them is mentioned as having in 1017 forwarded among his presents "Sanscrit books folded between boards." Sir Frank Swettenham, no mean authority on Malayan lore, is of the opinion that there is ground for believing that the Malays are the descendants of people who crossed from the South of India to Sumatra, mixed with a people already inhabiting that island, and gradually spread themselves over the central and most fertile States—Palembang, Jambi, Indragiri, Menangkabau, and Kampar. From Sumatra they worked their way to Java, to Singapore, and the Malay Peninsula, to Borneo, Celebes, the other islands of the Archipelago, and even to the Philippines, Sulu, the

Caroline Islands, and perhaps to Formosa. The word "Malay" is said to be derived from a river of that name, the Sungei Malayu, which flows by the mountain Siguntang Maha Meru in the State of Palembang in Sumatra, but it is equally likely that it was carried by the first emigrants from the Mallia or Malaya country in Southern India.

Indian or non-Indian, the Malays have always had a reputation as a people who had attained a high stage of civilisation. The Chinese tell us of the Malays of Palembang as a people who were well practised in the arts of trade, who used musical instruments (a small guitar and drums), and who possessed imported slaves who made music for them by stamping on the ground and singing. The earliest European accounts of them, penned some centuries later, give an agreeable account of Malay culture. Duarte Barbosa, the Portuguese writer of the beginning of the sixteenth century, describes the Malays of Malacca as "very polished people, and gentlemen, musical, gallant, and well proportioned." Lancaster and other Englishmen who visited the Straits in the seventeenth century also testified to the advanced stage of development in which they found the Malays. European commentators, however, were not by any means always complimentary. There were constant references to Malay laziness and treachery. Indeed, the tradition was rapidly built up that in a combination of these two unhandsome qualities was to be found the true Malay character. How unjust this assumption was has been proved strikingly by the later history of Malaya, which, with one or two exceptions, has shown that under proper treatment the Malay is as loyal and trustworthy as any of the subject races of the Crown. One of the best descriptions of Malay character is that given by Raffles in the monograph which appears as an appendix to the biography written by his widow. "Notwithstanding their

piracies and vices usually attributed to them," he said (writing of course in the unregenerate days of Malaya), "there is something in the Malayan character which is congenial to British minds and which leaves an impression the very opposite to that which a much longer intercourse has given of the more subdued and cultivated natives of Hindostan. Retaining much of that boldness which marks the Tartar stock from whence they are supposed to have sprung, they have acquired a softness not less remarkable in their manners than in their language. Few people are more habitually polite, or attend more to the courtesies of society. Among many of them traces of a former higher state of civilisation are obvious, and where the opportunity has been afforded, even in our own times, they have been found capable of receiving the highest state of intellectual improvement." To this generous estimate most of those who are most intimate with the Malay would whole-heartedly subscribe. They recognise in him one of Nature's gentlemen, and are often enthusiastic in their testimony to the possession of instincts and habits of thought which mark him out from other Oriental races with whom they may have been brought in contact. Nevertheless, even the Malay's best friends are fain compelled to admit that he does not take kindly to manual labour. His tastes incline in the direction of sport—cock-fighting by preference—and these are incompatible with the strenuous life. He goes through existence with an easy grace born of long centuries' experience in the art of getting the best of things with the smallest exertion. Not so very many years ago he was accustomed to vary his daily exercises in killing time with a little indiscriminate piracy. Indeed, the whole countryside was interested in these sea-roving ventures, just as many of our own coast people at home a hundred years ago were in touch with

smuggling. Many are the lurid stories which can be read in the records of the murderous deeds done up and down the Straits by organised bodies of marauders who were either directly under the orders of the local chiefs or were associated with them in the nefarious transactions as sharers in the proceeds of the infamy. British influence, reinforced by the aid of steam, which enabled the necessarily leisured movements of the piratical prahus to be counterchecked, slowly but surely wiped the stain from the Malay escutcheon. Now, to-day, piracy in the Straits is an evil dream which the Malay wishes to forget, much as the Maori is anxious to blot out the anthropophagous tendencies of his ancestors.

The Malay of to-day is largely interested in agricultural pursuits. Rice cultivation is his staple occupation, or rather that of his family, for the bulk of the work is relegated to the women-folk. Coco-nuts are another favourite Malay crop, but the plantations are seldom large and they are often part of a miscellaneous fruit enclosure which the proprietor keeps for the satisfaction largely of his own not excessive needs. Many of the Malay habitations are on the banks of rivers and creeks, in which the Peninsula abounds, and in those cases fishing is added to the other occupations of the son of the soil. He is very expert with the paddle, and to the inexperienced European one of the most attractive sights which the life of the country affords is the glimpse caught on the waterways of a thick-set, bronze figure posed in a cockleshell of a craft and throwing his net with unerring aim upon the spot where the presence of fish has been disclosed. If the net should unfortunately get caught in a snag, the spectator will see the figure dive overboard, and may in the clear stream watch his lithe body passing underwater, like the form of a huge fish, to the spot where

the net has become entangled, and note the rapidity with which, once he has reached the spot, he releases his equipment. Industrial life, as a general rule, does not at all attract the Malay. He frets under the confinement of a workshop or mine, and rarely can he be persuaded to accept employment in either for any length of time. Nevertheless, he is not without considerable aptitude for craftsmanship. We have already spoken of the boat-building, metal-working, and other industries of Trengganu. They are, as we have seen, of high interest artistically and of considerable commercial importance. In the same State there is an important silk-weaving industry which turns out *sarongs*—the characteristic article of dress worn by Malays—which are things of beauty much sought after throughout the Middle East. As a rule, however, Trengganu is the home of clever imitations of superior articles, and on that account Sir Hugh Clifford, in his report, styles Kuala Trengganu "the Birmingham of the Peninsula"—a rather unkind reflection, it would seem, on the great Midland city. Pahang, Perak, and Kelantan also have a weaving industry, the fabrics of which are much sought after by Malays and Europeans alike. The loom used is a very simple one, closely resembling the common hand-loom of England. Both cotton and silk fabrics are turned out, and gold thread is extensively introduced in the more costly silk material. "For the most part," says Mr. Leonard Wray, late Director of the Federated Malay States Museums, "this is only applied to the woof, though occasionally a few strands of gold thread are laid in amongst the warp so as to produce longitudinal lines of gold in the cloth. When simple, straight, or transverse lines or bends are desired, the gold thread is used in the ordinary way in the shuttle, but where detached floral or other patterns are required separate

bobbins of gold thread are used and the thread is inserted where required, as the weaving progresses, one bobbin being used for each line of flowers or other adornments. These bobbins are generally made of horn in the shape of a netting-needle. As many as thirty or forty may be used for the weaving of one width of highly ornate cloth."[1] Another way in which patterns are produced is by a species of tie and dye work. In this the warp threads are dyed before being woven. Embroidery also plays an important part in Malay industry. Exquisitely beautiful effects are produced with gold thread on a ground usually of some rich shade of velvet. When His Majesty the King, then Prince of Wales, visited the Straits in 1901 he was presented by the Sultan of Perak with some charming specimens of this embroidery, which were produced by his second wife. Allied to this work is the *Biku*, or pillow-lace, which is executed by Malay ladies in various parts of the Peninsula. The art was introduced by the Portuguese several centuries ago, and has been developed in accordance with Malayan taste, the fabrics often being manufactured in brilliant-coloured silks which are very racy of the soil. Basket and mat-making, wood-carving, pottery work and metal working are other branches of industry followed in various parts of the Peninsula. There is also a flourishing silver industry, which was probably originally introduced from India, but which has developed on individual lines. The process of ornamentation is identical with that known in England as *répousse* work. There is, in addition, a certain amount of chased work produced, some of it very elaborate and attractive. Inlaying is an art which is practised to a limited extent. In the Perak Museum there is a beautiful specimen of the work in the form of a *kris* blade, very finely ornamented with gold and silver. Traditionally, it is stated that the

craftsman who produced this was put to death when he had completed his work, because his patron, the local chief, did not want him to supply any one else with his productions. A more deadly enemy to Malay industry than even a bloodthirsty and jealous prince is the apathy and indifference which are eating into the vitals of many of the native arts. Contact with Westerns has developed a taste for the cheaper and often inferior products of Europe, with the result that local crafts are neglected. The Government is doing what it can, by judicious patronage, to stimulate the public interest in the local manufactures, but it is to be feared that the downgrade movement is not likely to be averted by any official action that is possible.

Amongst the most curious of Malay institutions, and one which is least easy to reconcile with the generous traits of the race, is debt bondage, a practice which, happily extinct in the Federated Malay States and elsewhere, is daily becoming more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Under this system, a person who incurs indebtedness to another and is unable to liquidate the liability is compelled to give his or her services to the creditor until the amount is paid. Very often the amount never is paid, and consequently the debtor becomes to all intents and purposes a life-long slave. We get many glimpses of the custom in the records of Bencoolen, the officials at which station were brought into intimate trading relations with the Malays. One passage in a despatch sent home in November, 1764, cites the practice as an example of the ineradicable tendency of the Malay to take life easily. "The people of these countries," says the despatch, "seldom pay their debts till they are obliged, or till compulsive means are ready to be used, and by reason of their

indolence they are seldom provided with the means beforehand, so that when the term of payment comes their laws oblige them to pawn their children or relations for debt, which by that additional motive to industry they commonly then use their endeavours to discharge. In reality, these people have not the same degree of natural affection for their wives and families that is usual in other countries. Having the liberty of divorce, husbands and wives are in the habit of parting from one another and their children, or of seeing others do so by choice or for debt; and this is so much the custom that one would almost think the fathers esteem their wives and children rather as saleable commodities than in any other light."

In this style the system flourished until quite modern times. Under its cover many iniquities were practised, though it is only just to say that in the great majority of cases the bond slaves were well treated and regarded more as members of the family than people in a state of servitude. The institution, of course, was incompatible with British rule, and had to be got rid of at the earliest possible period.

We must not pass from the subject of the Malays without saying a few words about the efforts that are being made to educate the well-to-do Malay youth after the English public school manner. At Kuala Kangsar is a fine institution, modelled somewhat on the lines of the Rajkumar College in India. In a splendidly appointed building, and under competent masters who have won academic distinction at home, little Malay boys from seven years upwards are taken in hand and instructed on lines identical with those followed at Eton and Harrow. The scheme has found great favour with the well-to-do Malay families, and its success is assured as an educational venture. But, of course, its influence must be much deeper than that of an ordinary public school. The

training given at Kuala Kangsar will infuse a new and healthy spirit into the whole social fabric, and tend to the further uplifting of this most interesting race. The pity of it is that the advantages of English education given at Kuala Kangsar are not extended to a lower social stratum. One of the special needs of the time in British Malaya is for the wider diffusion of English as the language of the Peninsula. At present, Malay is the *lingua franca*, but English might easily be substituted—and with advantage from every standpoint—if the Government gave more attention to the provision of means of acquiring the language.

Next to the Malays, the Chinese call for attention in a survey of the Malayan population. A writer of the eighteenth century described them as "swarming like bees" in the Straits. To-day that description might be applied with even greater force and accuracy. In point of fact, as far as the Federated Malay States are concerned, the Chinese are now the dominant element in the population. They have overtopped the Malays, and are considerably more than double in number the Indian community, which also, however, has vastly increased in the last decade. The general position of the Chinese in relation to the other communities in the federated area is well illustrated by the accompanying tables, compiled from the Census Report for 1911:—

PERAK.

	1901.	1911.
Europeans	672	1,396
Eurasians	591	845
Malays	142,168	199,034
Chinese	150,239	217,206
Indians	34,760	73,539
Others	1,235	2,037
Total	329,665	494,057

SELANGOR.

	1901.	1911.
Europeans	511	1,348
Eurasians	580	1,256
Malays	40,640	64,952
Chinese	109,598	150,908
Indians	16,847	74,067
Others	613	1,505
Total	168,789	294,035

NEGRI SEMBILAN.

Europeans	142	403
Eurasians	309	464
Malays	56,935	69,745
Chinese	32,931	40,843
Indians	5,526	18,248
Others	185	496
Total	96,028	130,199

PAHANG.

Europeans	134	137
Eurasians	46	85
Malays	73,462	87,109
Chinese	8,695	24,287
Indians	1,253	6,611
Others	523	479
Total	84,113	118,708

From these tables it will be seen that the Chinese have increased during the past decade by 131,781, or 43·7 per cent. The figure contrasts with 114,079, the increase assigned to the Indian population; but as the latter were a comparatively small community in 1901—they numbered 58,386—the percentage of their increase reached the huge figure of 195·4 per cent. Chinese or Indian—which? is the question that is often asked in regard to the permanent industrial ascendancy in Malaya. Each race has its

backers, and each has characteristics which abundantly justify the confidence of its supporters. At present, there is ample room in the Peninsula for each, and the question of rivalry is a purely academic one. Development is proceeding at such a pace that migrants from both India and China are absorbed almost without the country being aware of the extent to which both are being drawn upon. But it may be different in years to come, when the rubber industry has reached its extreme limit, and mining perhaps has lost still more of its glamour for the Chinaman. Then, possibly, will come a squeeze, which will make inter-racial competition keen. Taking a broad view of things, it will be strange if the Chinaman takes a subordinate position in this sphere of influence which has been his for centuries. His tenacity is great, and this, allied with his industry and his superior physique, will probably leave him the victor in any economic or racial struggle which he may be compelled by fate to embark upon. One great thing in his favour is the strongly entrenched monetary position of his countrymen in the Straits. The wealth of the community is enormous. They have a finger in every promising new pie; they are the chief private mine owners, the principal property owners in the towns, the leading tradesmen, the most prosperous adventurers in private planting—in short, wherever there is money to be made, you may be sure that the Chinaman is not far away. It was to a considerable extent out of the amassed riches of the Straits Chinese that the great revolt in China was subsidised. Indeed, in recent years, this section of the Malayan population has become an increasingly important factor in the political adjustment of the Far East, for it has supplied not only the sinews of war, but able and patriotic young brains to help on the regeneration of that distressful country. This excursion

into the realm of Chinese politics is not to be taken to indicate any desire on the part of the Straits Chinaman to forswear his British allegiance. He has prospered too greatly under the Union Jack ever to desire to exchange it for any other. His action may probably be regarded as merely a natural outcome of a desire generated by his environment to see extended to his native country the same advantages of civilised and ordered Government which he and his have so long enjoyed to their infinite profit. As a trader, the Chinaman in Malaya enjoys an excellent reputation. Though keen in striking a bargain he is eminently trustworthy. He does not give his "chop" —his sign-manual—readily, but once having given it he stands to his word. The coolie class of Chinamen were at one time much given to faction fighting, and their Secret Societies were a source of considerable anxiety to the authorities for years; but by a firm administration of the criminal law, coupled with the enforcement of the regulations permitting of the expulsion of bad characters from the Colony, the situation has undergone a vast improvement. As a whole, the Chinese are now a most orderly community, given over almost entirely to the gentle art of money-making, at which they excel.

The Indians amongst the Malay population are to a very large extent associated with the planting industry, either directly as labourers or indirectly as traders, and others ministering to the needs of the plantations. The Tamils, that industrious people from Southern India who have long been the great labour mainstay of the Ceylon tea-plantations, form by far the largest Indian group. To a total of 172,465 Indians in the Federated Malay States they contribute no fewer than 143,785. Telugus come next with 9,825, then Punjabis with 7,919, and after them Bengalis with 5,050, Malayali with 3,120, Hindustani (the



BULLOCK CARTS AT A CHINESE VILLAGE.



MALAY VILLAGE, ULU GOMBOK, SELANGOR.

term is somewhat obscure), with 1,354, Afghan with 849, Gujerati with 166, Mahratti with 123, Burmese with 42, and "other Indians" with 232. Here we have a fair representation of the varied races of India, and the list is made still more complete by the addition of classes amongst the population of the older Settlements in the Colony itself. In the ranks of the professional men and traders at Singapore are found not a few Parsees—that interesting people who fill so large a place in the life of Western India—and there is also a considerable colony of Madras Chetties, a moneylending fraternity. India contributes, too, materially to the Eurasian class of immigrants, notably in the subordinate clerical ranks of the railways and commercial and trading establishments. Amongst the miscellaneous Asiatic races comprising the residue left after the enumeration of the Malays, Chinese, and Indians, the most interesting is, perhaps, the Bugis. This people, who come from Celebes, are a hardy race of seafarers who played an important part in the life of the earlier British settlements in the Middle East, where they acted in various useful capacities. In recent times their numbers have dwindled, but they still constitute a picturesque element of the waterside population of Singapore. The exclusively European population calls for no lengthened notice. Of late years it has increased enormously, especially in the Federated Malay States, where the opening up of rubber estates has created a demand for European supervisors. There is an overwhelming British preponderance in this section of the population. Of a total of 3,284 returned at the census in 1911, 1,368 came from England, 387 from Scotland, 33 from Wales, 2 from the Channel Islands, 178 from Australasia, 36 from South Africa, 14 from Canada, and 483 were born in the Malay Peninsula. Taking the

figures as a whole, almost exactly 90 per cent. of the European population of the Federated Malay States were British. To the foreign element the French contribute 131, or 4 per cent. of the total European population; the Dutch 76, or 2 per cent.; Americans 42, and Germans 41. In the Colony the British predominance is not so great, and the relative foreign positions are changed, Germany taking a much higher place by virtue of her extensive colony at Singapore and her strong representation at Penang.

The bases of population in Malaya have shifted enormously in recent times, and they are probably destined in the future to be altered still more strikingly. The point is best illustrated by a few facts. In 1891 the population of the Colony was 512,342, and that of the Federated Malay States 424,218. In 1901 the Colony had a population of 572,249, and the Federated Malay States one of 678,595. The 1911 returns give the figures for the Colony at 714,069, and those for the Federated Malay States at 1,036,999. Thus it will be seen that in thirty years there has been a complete reversal of the positions of the two areas constituting British Malaya in regard to population, and it will be noted, further, that there are now in the Federated Malay States almost exactly double the number of people who were shown to inhabit the older Settlements in 1891. A glance at the figures of the urban population show in another way what remarkable changes have been taking place in the last few decades. Thirty years ago Singapore, Penang, and Malacca were practically the only populous centres of importance in Malaya. At the present time the Federated Malay States has within its limits Kuala Lumpur (the capital), with 46,718 inhabitants, Ipoh (Perak), with 23,978, Taiping (Perak), 19,556, and Kampar

(Perak), 11,604, together with a number of other thriving townships, which at the present rate of their growth will soon be towns of respectable size. The older Settlements are moving in sympathy with the growth of the population on the mainland. But it is scarcely open to question that the future population of Malaya will show such an enormous preponderance in the newer territory as to change the whole aspect of affairs as it is presented to-day. The nature of the tendencies in operation is reflected in the energy which is being put into the development of through communications by way of the Eastern States. An immense impetus to settlement must inevitably be given by this work in areas at present quite outside the Federated Malay States, and, therefore, not taken into account in the existing population returns. The population will increase there at a rate possibly short of that which has marked the progress of the Western States, but still sufficiently great to swell materially the totals when censuses are taken in years to come. This new factor, coupled with the natural growth of the population in the western area, will give the Peninsular returns an impressive appearance, as compared with those of the Colony. The time, perhaps, is not very remote when a community of five millions is under the charge of the Government, directly and indirectly, in the Peninsular States. At that period, in all probability, the population of the Colonial territory will not exceed a million, and it may be a good deal below that figure.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMMERCE AND SHIPPING

Singapore's commercial pre-eminence—The gradual development of her trade—The first dock scheme—Formation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company—Its successful career—Expropriation of the concern by the Government—Improvements at the port—The new graving-dock—Marine ports in Malaya—Singapore as a distributing centre—The trade of Malaya as a whole.

MALAYA in general and Singapore in particular afford a striking proof of the truth of the adage that trade follows the flag. Less than a century ago the Straits trade was an infinitesimal quantity, and Singapore was a small fishing-village. To-day, the imports and exports of Malaya are about one hundred millions sterling annually, or considerably larger than the entire commerce of Great Britain a hundred years ago, and we find Singapore a magnificent city of a quarter million inhabitants, one of the political nerve centres of the civilised world, and with trade connections which bring it into touch with every country. The change has been wrought entirely by British influence. In the days when that influence was non-existent or was only timidly exercised, commerce languished; as soon as a wise statesmanship decided that an active policy should be adopted, an era of prosperity set in which has been accentuated in degree with every fresh extension of the protection of the Union Jack. It is true, no

doubt, that the growth of Malayan trade has coincided with a period of development almost all the world over. But it is morally certain that if at the psychological moment Britain had not in the first instance resisted Dutch pretensions and later grasped the nettle of anarchy in Malaya, and established peace and order where aforetime the direst confusion had obtained, there would have been none of the prosperity which now so strikingly marks every phase and department of the Straits trade. The chances are that the country would have been a sort of Asiatic Alsatia, in which, after the manner of the Kilkenny cats, a mixed population of Chinese and other adventurers exemplified the force of the law of the survival of the fittest.

Singapore now, as it has always been under British rule, is the great seat of Malayan trade, and it is likely to remain so whatever changes may take place in the administration. Nature has decreed the port's pre-eminence, and man cannot very well deprive it of it in these days when the *point d'appui* means so much in commerce as well as in war. Raffles's perspicuity in seizing this position in preference to others which he might have had was vindicated almost as soon as the occupation had been fairly accomplished. Up to then Penang had eked out a somewhat miserable commercial existence by acting as a victualling centre for the vessels of the Navy in Middle and Far Eastern waters. The Settlement, as it was somewhat grimly said by a high Indian functionary of the period, lived on its vices—in other words, maintained its official organisation largely out of the proceeds of gambling and opium farms. Singapore changed all that, not exactly in a twinkling, but in a period of years comparatively short. In 1828–9, ten years after the occupation, the imports of the

new port were officially given at Rs. 1,76,40,969½ and the exports at Rs. 1,58,25,997½. Taking a rupee at two shillings, these figures imply a total trade of nearly three and a half millions, an amount unprecedented in the previous experience of any port in the Middle East. One effect of the development was practically to extinguish the small trade of Penang and to seal the fate of Malacca as a commercial *entrepôt.* Neither of these ports could compete with Singapore in the advantages its position offered, and the handicap became more onerous as in the process of years steam navigation was introduced. Another influence, no doubt, was the Free Trade principles on which Singapore was established. Penang, hampered by an import tariff, was like a man conducting a fight with one arm tied. The authorities at last saw this and removed the bonds, but it was then too late, if, indeed, there had ever been a chance of Penang standing up in rivalry against Singapore. The northern port dropped into the background, not again to emerge into the commercial daylight until the construction of the railway on the mainland brought the island into touch with a new and vigorous life. Under these promising auspices it is progressing at a rate which bids fair to carry it far from its old position of respectable mediocrity. In recent years extensive new wharf accommodation has been provided, a dry dock has been built, and other arrangements have been made for the convenience of the shipping of large tonnage which now visits the port. Malacca, too, has caught something of the new spirit, and is looking up to a certain extent. But these revivals have only served to emphasise the predominance of Singapore. The growth of that port has suffered no check from the day of its occupation. In two years and a half ending 1824,

2,889 vessels had visited the port, representing a combined tonnage of 161,000. In 1834 the harbour was entered by 517 square-rigged vessels representing a tonnage of 156,513. Eight years later, the returns showed that 870 square-rigged vessels, with a combined tonnage of 286,351, used the port, with in addition 2,490 native vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of 69,268. After this, the growth of the trade was steady until the opening of the Suez Canal, when, under the stimulus of the new conditions, a great acceleration in the rate of progress was registered.

The following statistics of shipping entered and cleared (exclusive of native craft) show in the clearest manner the growth of the ports of the Colony in more recent years :—

	Total Tonnage.	British Tonnage.
1901	16,289,704	9,363,178
1902	17,098,762	10,034,147
1903	18,404,383	11,147,182
1904	18,267,499	11,842,744
1905	18,890,600	12,243,623
1906	19,711,498	11,762,479
1907	20,055,874	11,644,083
1908	21,750,245	12,970,158
1909	22,192,354	12,995,909
1910	23,429,495	14,026,143
1911	24,086,904	14,277,754

Long before the opening of the Suez Canal the need of adequate accommodation for shipping had been severely felt, and in 1845 a scheme had actually been publicly discussed for the construction of a dock 300 feet long, 68 feet wide, and 15 feet deep, at a cost of $80,000. That project was born out of due time, but the discussion had the advantage of familiarising the loca community with the subject and paving the way for a rather more ambitious scheme, which was ultimately

floated under the auspices of a private company, to be subsequently known to fame as the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company. With a modest capital of $180,000, this body commenced operations at Tanjong Pagar soon after its incorporation in 1863. By August, 1866, a wharf 750 feet in length had been completed, affording accommodation for four ships of ordinary size, and having as indispensable adjuncts of it coal storage for 10,000 tons and other conveniences. In connection with the work, the embankments had been strengthened and extended, and a sea-wall had been completed for a length of 2,550 feet. Subsequently, on October 17, 1868, the then Governor, Sir Harry Ord, R.E., opened a graving-dock — the "Victoria Dock" — 450 feet long with a width at its entrance of 65 feet and a depth at the sill of 20 feet. For that period the work was one of considerable interest and importance. But it failed to obtain in the earliest years of its existence the degree of support that its merits deserved. The appearance of a rival in the field in the shape of the Patent Slip and Dock Company, which built two docks in Keppel Harbour, did not improve matters. As the years went by, however, the enterprise of the original speculators was abundantly justified. The number of ships using the Company's wharves rose from 99 steamers of 60,654 tons and 65 sailing vessels of 30,752 tons in the half year ending August, 1869, to 185 steamers of 164,756 tons and 63 sailing vessels of 40,534 tons in the corresponding period of 1872. A great fire, which broke out on April 13, 1877, and lasted a fortnight, destroyed the coal-sheds and the working men's houses and did immense damage besides. But it inflicted only a temporary check upon the Company. In 1879 a new dock — the "Albert Dock" — necessitated by the growing

business of the Company, was opened. Constructed at a cost of £56,000, this dock has a length of 475 feet, a width at the entrance of 75 feet, and a depth of 21 feet at average spring tides. It was the beginning of further developments, which finally gave the Company a continuous deep-sea frontage of a mile and a quarter, and a magnificent property and plant such as no other private enterprise east of Suez could boast. The establishment in 1885 of a working financial arrangement, with the New Harbour Dock Company, the enterprise previously mentioned under the name of the Patent Slip and Dock Company, was the forerunner of other changes, which in the closing years of the last century left the Company in undisputed possession of all the work of the port.

It was at this juncture that Imperial exigencies, connected with the general strategical position, brought to the front the question of providing dock accommodation for the Navy at Singapore, the importance of which had been markedly emphasised by the events of the Russo-Japanese conflict. In view of the enormous expense and delay that would have been involved in the prosecution of a Government scheme, the authorities decided that the best means of carrying out the policy they had under consideration would be to buy out the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company and re-establish the organisation on an official basis, with such developments as were demanded in the interests of the Navy. The occasion for doing this seemed to be the more propitious because the Government was prosecuting a great scheme of harbour improvement while the Company itself was contemplating an expenditure of some $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 on extensions of wharves and additional dock facilities. Nevertheless, a sensation was caused

amongst the Singapore commercial community when it became known that on December 20, 1904, following upon abortive negotiations carried on in London, the Dock Company had received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies a notification of the Government's intention to take over their property on terms to be mutually arranged, or failing that by arbitration. The immediate effect of the news was to promote a brisk business in the Company's stock, which consisted of 37,000 shares of $100 each. Up to 1902 the price of the scrip had never fallen below a market rate of $300, but in December, 1904, doubtless in anticipation of the expenditure on the new schemes, the price had dropped to $230. In 1905 the share value steadily rose until it touched $500, at which figure stock remained, with insignificant variations, until the sale was effected. The financial arrangements connected with the expropriation were the subject of somewhat excited controversy in the Colony. A proposal made at the outset by the Government to pay $240 a share was indignantly rejected on the ground that although the Company had been paying only 12 per cent., disbursements which might have been rightly charged to capital had been made out of revenue to an extent which was represented by an additional 24 per cent., while the liquid-assets had been augmented by a further 6 per cent. The offer was deemed to be the more unsatisfactory inasmuch as it took no account of the 15 per cent. compensation usually paid in the case of the compulsory acquisition of property by the Government. Such was the feeling on the subject that it soon became clear that arbitration would have to be resorted to. After a conference in Singapore, summoned by the then Governor, Sir John Anderson, who was largely

responsible for the inception of the scheme of Government purchase, a Court of Arbitration was appointed by the Imperial Government to proceed to the Colony to adjust the matter. It was a very strong body—probably the most influential that had ever been sent to a Colony on a similar mission. At the head, acting as umpire, was Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, M.P. (now Lord St. Aldwyn), the well-known Unionist statesman, while the arbitrators were, for the Government, Sir Edward Boyle, K.C., and for the Company, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Inglis, the railway expert. Mr. Balfour Browne, K.C., was counsel for the Government, and Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., represented the Company. The Company claimed $76,510,976, the amount including $33,539,792 for the general undertaking at twenty-two years' purchase, based on the average profit for five years, and $26,150,200 for prospective appreciation. The Government offered $11,244,996, a sum equivalent to eighteen years' purchase, calculated on adjusted profits plus an allowance for surplus properties. After protracted proceedings in Singapore, the arbitrators proceeded home to complete the deliberations in London. When the award was issued on July 4, 1906, it was found that the Court had awarded $27,929,177, which, with allowances for reinvestment, represented nearly $760 per share to the shareholders. Long before the award was issued on June 30, 1905, the Government had taken over the property and constituted a board to administer the port affairs, under the name of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Board. This body was modelled on the lines of the Metropolitan Water Board of London. It consisted at first of eight non-official and two official members, all appointed by the Governor, and subject to a rule under which one-third retired by

rotation every three years. Subsequently, the number of non-official members was reduced to six, and one of the official members was struck out of the constitution. Apart from nominating members the Government does not interfere with the working of the administration. The Board continues the work on the old lines under an arrangement by which it pays into the revenues of the Colony a sum not exceeding 4 per cent. per annum of the amount paid by the Government for the undertaking. An essential condition of the agreement is that any surplus revenue over and above the 4 per cent. shall go to a reserve fund, which will be available for the purposes of the Board.

Under the new *régime* the work of improving the port has been prosecuted with vigour. The Government programme, which includes a reclamation scheme at Teluk Ayer, designed to increase the shipping accommodation of the port, and including originally the erection of a breakwater and also improvements in the Singapore River, is well advanced. Before it is completed, it will involve an expenditure of over two and a quarter millions sterling. The associated projects of the old Company, which are also being pushed ahead, include very extensive works, which when finally carried through will bring the port equipment on to a level with that of any port in the world. The most important of the projects in hand, the construction of a great graving-dock, is now practically completed. It is situated between the P. and O. Wharf and the New Harbour Wharf, with its end pointing out across the Strait to the east end of Blakang Mati and its landward end running back close to the road along which the tramway runs. It is one of the largest graving-docks in existence, and is by far the most important work of

the kind east of Suez, as the following comparative table shows:—

	Length.	Width.	Depth on Sill.
Singapore		100	34
Hunghom Dock (Hong Kong)	576	86	30
Admiralty Dock (Hong Kong)	787	88	34½
Colombo	720	85	32
Sydney	765	83	28
Shanghai	560	80	24
Bombay	538	65	28

When full, the dock contains over 22,300,000 gallons of water. It can be emptied within two hours with the aid of powerful pumps driven by two compound surface-condensing engines, each of which develops over 1,100 horse-power. There is no need to dwell on the enormous usefulness of this dock in view of the possibilities of the near future. It is only necessary to remark that Singapore is in a position with this dock and other conveniences which have been or will be provided in the work of reconstruction, to supply the needs of any fleet, however modern its ships, that may cruise in these waters. In a financial sense, the expropriation of the Dock Company has proved a marked success, in spite of the apparently high price the Government paid for the property. From the time of the acquisition in 1905 to the end of 1911, the half-yearly balances have been most satisfactory, allowing, after payment of the Government charges, of substantial additions to the reserve fund. A pleasing feature of the returns is the evidence they afford of the growing trade of Penang, the branch establishment of the Tanjong Pagar Company's business at which was taken over with the rest of the concern. The tonnage of

the port has steadily increased year by year. The amount for the last half of 1908 was 118,752. For the corresponding period of 1911 it was as much as 301,751. In this period the net revenue has risen from $30,387 to $50,152. This result is doubtless attributable to the growing trade of the Federated Malay States, for which Penang is the main outlet.

On the Peninsular coast there are several ports besides Malacca, but none of them so far have drawn to themselves any considerable amount of trade. On the west coast, to the north, is Port Weld, which was the original port for Taiping, and was a good deal used in pre-railway days for the conveyance of provisions to the Kinta and Kuala Kangsar districts. It is now very little resorted to, as the railway serves these purposes better. Farther south is Port Swettenham, in Selangor, at the mouth of the Klang River, which superseded Klang farther up the stream. There is here commodious anchorage for deep-draught steamers, with every convenience for the handling of cargo. It is the only port outside Singapore and Penang at which heavy goods can be landed, and on that account is increasingly made use of by ocean-going steamers. Still farther south is Port Dickson, in Negri Sembilan, a place of call for coasting steamers. On the east coast, in Pahang, is Kuantan, a port always accessible at high water, but somewhat hampered by the monsoon influences which cause the channel to silt every season. The Government are endeavouring to improve the port by systematic dredging. It will eventually gain in importance by the construction of the East Coast Railway, with which it will be connected by a branch line. Kuala Pahang is another place of call for coasting steamers on the same part of the coast, but there are no facilities there for transport, passengers and goods being transferred into



RAUB, PAHANG, FROM DISTRICT OFFICER'S HOUSE.



ON THE PAHANG RIVER.

native craft in the open roadstead. Kuala Trennganu, at the mouth of the Trengganu River, and Tumpat, in Kelantan, are the only other ports of any consequence on this coast.

Singapore absorbs roughly two-thirds of the trade of British Malaya. Its total tonnage in 1911 of 24,086,904 makes it the seventh port in the world and the fourth in the British Empire. No stranger visiting the harbour for the first time can fail to be impressed with the evidences which he sees on all sides of commercial activity. Great liners of all the principal steamship companies having connections with the Far East are constantly coming and going. Smaller coasting steamships, smart-looking with their white awnings and their trim top-hamper, flit across the harbour on their way up one or other of the coasts of the Peninsula or across to Sumatra or Java and ports beyond; steam launches are constantly darting hither and thither; and the motor-boat, with its silent, steadfast impetus, adds yet another feature of interest to the scene. But it is the purely native craft which stamp the picture with its individuality and convince you that the port is really not like any other you have seen, despite the obtrusive modernity of much that passes the line of vision. Small sailing vessels from Celebes and other islands of the Archipelago are there—though it is a source of lament with older residents that the Bugis fleet grows smaller year by year—and ubiquitous *sampans* or Chinese rowing-boats, which all have painted on their bows the eye which is supposed to guide the crafts safely on their way. These, with innumerable fishing-boats and canoes of the Malay type, make up the queerest marine *olla podrida* that you are likely to come across anywhere. For the tourist in the Middle East, Singapore is an ideal centre from which to make a tour. Thanks to the shipping

facilities he can go to almost any port of the Middle East with despatch and comfort, and, should his tastes run in the direction of a little travelling off the beaten track, in one of the most interesting areas in the tropical world, his wants can be met.

Commercially, Singapore is most prominent as a distributing centre. A free port and one in which the harbour dues are of the lightest, the Settlement finds favour with merchants who have trading connections with the Middle and Far East. Goods sent here are retransmitted by local steamers and native craft to all parts of Malaya, to Java and Sumatra, Siam, and Indo-China and the uttermost limits of the Archipelago. On the other hand, to Singapore is brought for re-export to Europe the produce of a vast region. The lion's share of the trade, about 60 per cent., is with Great Britain and British dependencies; Netherlands India, Siam, China, and the United States are the principal foreign countries which figure in the Singapore returns. The last-named does a business largely in excess of that of any European country other than Great Britain. At the head of the European importers is Germany. France receives the greatest proportion of the exports amongst Western foreign countries.

When we come to deal with the commercial position of Malaya as a whole, we are confronted with the difficulty created by the division of administrative authority between "the Colony" and the Federated Malay States. Separate returns are kept for each, and in consequence there is inevitably some amount of duplication as goods are moved from one area to the other. The only safe course to adopt is to follow the official procedure and treat each interest separately. Acting on this principle we may cite the following

igures as showing the latest state of the trade of the original Settlements :—

	Imports.		Exports.	
	1910.	1911.	1910.	1911.
	$	$	$	$
Singapore ...	257,489,960	275,208,769	215,572,807	223,477,687
Penang ...	85,268,828	110,879,037	92,009,500	110,728,314
Malacca ...	6,543,818	7,568,627	6,735,102	7,187,216
Total ...	349,302,606	393,656,433	314,317,409	341,393,217

	Imports and Exports combined.
	$
1911	725,049,650
1910	663,620,015
Increase 1911	71,429,635

Expressed in sterling, the total value of imports in 1911 was £43,128,362 against £41,032,243 in 1910, showing an increase of £2,096,119 in 1911; while exports were valued at £37,640,240 in 1911 against £36,819,563 in 1910, showing an increase in 1911 of £820,677. The combined totals of imports and exports in the two years were :—

	£
1911	80,768,602
1910	77,851,806
Increase	2,916,796

Turning to the Federated Malay States we find that the imports in 1911 reached a total value of $66,532,039 (£7,762,071), while the exports amounted in value to $116,280,927 (£13,566,108). The total trade, therefore, was $182,812,966 (£21,328,179), as compared with $156,107,141 (£18,212,499) in 1910. It will thus be

seen that the united trade of Malaya, leaving out of consideration the non-federated States, has reached the enormous figure of over one hundred millions sterling. No doubt some deduction must be made from the total for the duplication previously alluded to, but the total allowance would not, probably, very materially reduce the total. The quarterly statements of imports and exports for the current year show that the trade is still expanding, the increase in value being very substantial, so there would appear to be no finality for Malayan progress yet visible, even dimly, upon the horizon.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FUTURE OF MALAYA

The higher destinies of Malaya—At the parting of the ways—Three possible courses—The benefits of unification—Imperial aspect of the problem.

NOT the least difficult part of the work of preparing an account of Malaya is the writing of the final words. The story is necessarily only half told. What is written to-day may be inadequate to-morrow, and a little later may be so far from the true position as to give a false impression. We are really here in the presence of the making of a country, and that a great one. The constituent elements are present for the building up of a tropical dependency of surpassing material and political importance. It only remains for a wise statesmanship to mould this material into the right form. Granted that such is forthcoming, the issue is not doubtful. But, as a preliminary to success, it is imperative that those who have the ordering of the higher destinies of Malaya should shed some illusions. They must at the outset get rid, once and for all, of the idea of "Settlements." That is a phrase which was never particularly happy, and which belongs to a long-past day when the ledger rather than the statute-book supplied the guiding principles of policy. Even the Colonial habit of thought is out of place in the circumstances in which British power is placed. Malaya is rather a miniature

India than a Colony. The three chief centres answer to the Presidency cities. In the Federated Malay States we have a prototype of the Mofussil or up-country districts of India; the Protected States are the Malayan equivalent of the semi-independent territory of India; while Siam stands in much the same relation to Malaya that Afghanistan does to India. Of course, the parallel must not be pushed too far, but, broadly speaking, the principles which govern the two areas are sufficiently analogous to demand that the future of Malaya shall be considered in strict regard to them. The Home Government must "think imperially" if it is to work out this problem on adequate lines. If it is too much a slave of the conventions of the Colonial Office, the splendid prospect which lies ahead will be dimmed, if it is not completely obscured in some directions.

Malaya, without doubt, stands to-day at the parting of the ways. The first stage on the long and difficult road of moral regeneration and commercial and political development has been passed. She may now either go ahead to heights of fame never touched in the chequered history of the Malay race; or, as regards a great part of the area, she may drop back into the welter of anarchy in which the whole population of the Peninsula wallowed only a few decades since. Looking at the position as it is, it is difficult to imagine that there can be any but one answer as to the course she will elect to take. The beacon-light of the Federated Malay States shines brilliantly, beckoning her on the road she should go. We are an unemotional race, or we should thrill over the record which the building up of this federation supplies. In the story of modern civilisation, it takes a high place as an example of what can be done by able and conscientious administrators acting on sound principles. Forty years ago the region was a mere

haunt of pirates, a waste of impenetrable forest with a fringe of squalid Settlements redeemed only from their moral wretchedness by the nobility of character of some of those who inhabited them. The white man who set his foot in the interior did so at peril of his life. Vast areas were never trodden by him, and there were many parts which were a sealed book owing to their inaccessibility to the Malays themselves. How wonderfully changed is the aspect now! There is hardly a part of the area of the Federated States that has not been brought into touch with civilisation by well-made roads. By means of the excellent State Railway which now bisects the Peninsula on the western side, you may traverse the country at express speed from end to end in a train which is not inferior to any that is running in Europe. Thriving towns are everywhere growing up, equipped with all the latest conveniences of modern civilisation. Agriculture has taken to itself features which have made this new-old land the cynosure of the world. The tin mined in the States is a powerful factor in the international metal market. In all directions there is commercial activity—an activity reflected in a trade which reaches the total of over twenty millions sterling. On the administrative side, the achievements have been not less remarkable than this material progress. A judicial system has been set up worthy of the highest traditions of the British judiciary; an able body of civilians, trained after the manner of the best type of British official, fulfil the duties of the civil administration. The higher responsibilities of Government are discharged by a Council in which, by a happy combination of interests, Malay prince and British official sit side by side in a spirit of amiable co-operation. Educational institutions, museums, parks, and all the other marks of an advanced civilisation are found in a high state of excellence. In

fine, the Federated Malay States are a model of ordered government and social contentment, differing in the profoundest way from the distressful land into which the ill-fated Mr. Birch and the other British administrators intruded in that not remote time in the early seventies. The country could not have reached this happy state without the all-powerful influence of British skill, experience, and credit. It owes much to the Imperial resources which at critical moments it was possible to utilise with effect in the States, and it owes much more to the painstaking zeal, unfailing tact, and remarkable prescience of administrators like Sir Hugh Low and Sir Frank Swettenham, who, with infinite patience, directed the halting steps of the States in the earlier stages of what was then a great experiment.

The Federation has now reached a point when its future will have to be considered. The proverbial three courses appear to be open. There may be an enlargement of the system by bringing in the non-federated States; the Federation may be left to work out its destinies on existing lines; or it may be combined with "the Colony" in one comprehensive system. The adoption of the first course probably implies procedure along the lines of the least resistance, but it would mean eventually the setting up of an authority which would almost necessarily become independent of the Colonial administration. The individualistic tendencies in administration, which even to-day are apparent, would grow with the growth of territory until they became too strong to resist. If a dual British authority in the Straits be deemed a desirable ideal, then this solution may be found an acceptable one. It will certainly have a better chance of adoption than the second of the three alternatives—the leaving of the Federation to continue as it is. The interests of the

Peninsular States cannot be separated, and any attempt to keep the various elements apart permanently is doomed to failure. We are now brought to the third and by far the most important of the methods by which Malayan government may be permanently settled. Perhaps on no question is opinion more sharply divided in Malaya than in regard to the desirability of amalgamation. In Singapore, and generally throughout the Colony, the advantages of a unified system are extolled: in the Federated Malay States, there is a keen perception of the disadvantages of fusion regarded from the local standpoint. The position of the objectors is put as follows by a leading public man in Kuala Lumpur: "The financial position of the Colony, the military contribution, and the opening up of the other States would result in the cutting down of our expenditure on public works. To know or rather to realise what this means, look at the past and present condition of Malacca roads, public buildings, &c., compared with Negri Sembilan. . . . Considering that the annual surplus of the Federated Malay States has to be recorded in millions, we have a strong case for reduction of taxation, but fusion without loans would probably mean an increase." In other words the people of the Federated Malay States object to having their strong financial position weakened by amalgamation with the Colony and partnership in its responsibilities. It is a natural attitude, human nature being what it is, but scarcely a tenable one. The Federated Malay States did not make themselves: they were made by extraneous aid from the Colony, and without the support they received in the initial stages of their development they would not have been able to attain such a phenomenal success. But, of course, this is a much larger question than one of Colony v. States. Imperial considerations come into play in the matter in a very direct way. The principle which will

decide the point, and rightly decide it, is: What is best for the Empire? Will it subserve the larger needs which are involved in the maintenance of our position in the Middle East that there should be a divison of administrative burdens and liabilities in Malaya? To ask the question surely is to answer it. Division never made for Imperial strength, and these are not precisely the times when we can afford to take risks in this part of the world. The new era which will shortly be ushered in with the opening of the Panama Canal is one of profound importance to Great Britain as a world Power, and nowhere hardly in the East is it more important that we should "stand four square" than in Malaya. Events may happen in the immediate future which will make Singapore the pivot on which will turn operations of vital importance to the Empire. A strong consolidated territory behind that stronghold will give strength of purpose and directness to our policy, while, on the contrary, a division of responsibility will have a weakening effect. The Malay Peninsula really is a great outpost of the Indian Empire. When through railway communication has been established, as it will be probably in the course of the next few years, the territory will be brought into direct touch with our Indian military system, and it will be possible by an arrangement with Siam, which it should not be difficult to make, to mobilise rapidly there a great fighting force in a time of crisis for use, if need be, in support of naval operations in the Pacific. In the past, as we have seen, a British expeditionary force from India had its rendezvous in the Straits for service at Manila. It never got so far as the Philippines, as the need for its assistance passed; but the fact that the troops were in Malaya ready for any emergency had a great influence in securing the success of our policy. History may in this, as in other matters,

repeat itself. At all events, the signs of the times point to eventualities which will require from us the fullest possible utilisation of the advantages which our splendid strategical position in the East gives us. It would be wrong, no doubt, to assume that in any conceivable administrative arrangement that may be made Imperial needs would be neglected. But the point is that a strong self-reliant, self-contained British Malaya would do what no divided system, however skilfully organised and directed, could accomplish.

Quite apart from these higher considerations, a complete fusion of British authority in Malaya has powerful reasons to recommend it. The arbitrary division of commercial interests which is reflected in the official publications, has no real existence in fact. Singapore and Penang, and, to a modified extent, Malacca, are the outlets of the trade of the Peninsula and directly concerned in it. The banking system is the same, and to a large extent the mercantile and trading organisations for the two centres are the same. This identity of interest cannot be ignored merely to bolster up a system which, though useful in its day, has outlived the conditions which dictated its inception and development. The water-tight compartment system may be good for a ship, but it is bad for a colony. The notion that the special wealth of a small district shall be maintained exclusively for the service of that district is one which will not bear examination. The area must be treated as a whole, if there is not to be sterilised poverty in one direction and unnecessary opulence in the other. Some regard admittedly must be had to the possession of local advantages by individual States, but the principle of mutual help must be steadily encouraged and applied if the Malay Peninsula is ever to reach its fullest development. After all, who shall say that the rich

State of to-day may not be the poor State of to-morrow and *vice versa?* It is conceivable, for example, that the tin-mines of Perak and Selangor may give out in a period of years; and, on the other hand, it is equally conceivable that in the largely unexplored territory of Trengganu and Kelantan may be discovered mineral deposits of incalculable value. A wise policy will be directed not to exaggerating differences between separate States and between the States and the Colony, but to minimising them. The ideal of a united Malaya must be kept steadily in view in the interests of wise and economical administration. Some day it will be one of the richest and most commercially important of the countries of the East, and it is right that all within the area should share alike in its responsibilities, as they will some day in its greatness.

It would be wrong to suppose that in any alliance between the Colony and the States the terms would not be equal. The latter have the best balance-sheet to show, and they must always have an advantage in this respect. But the position of the Colony is perfectly sound—probably never more so. In spite of Dutch competition, Singapore and Penang, the natural gateways for the trade of the Peninsula, more than hold their own. Pessimists in the recent past have bewailed evidences of rival activity, and been disposed to write *Delenda est Carthage* over the portals of Singapore; but the steady increase in trade statistics is a sufficient answer to these croakings. Instead of decay, we may, with a fair degree of certainty, look to an immeasurably larger development in the Straits. The East Coast Railway when completed will open up new channels of trade, which will flow with ever-increasing volume into Singapore, and simultaneously the development of Kedah and other parts of the west coast will tend to the advantage of Penang. Changes may be

anticipated in many of the dispositions of commerce, but it will be a strange thing if Great Britain does not continue to maintain her commercial as well as her political supremacy. The enterprise which has built up the rubber industry is not likely to be wanting when further calls are made for exertion in developing the unworked resources of Malaya.

In the past—the recent past at all events—Malaya has been singularly happy in the class of administrators she has had to help her on the difficult path of progress. She has been governed by men quick to grasp the essential features of the local situation and work for the right end. Sometimes, as in the cases of Sir Andrew Clarke and Sir William Jervois, great personal responsibility was accepted out of the fulness of their sense of the pressing needs of a strong policy. At home, where there was not the same overwhelming sense of the necessity for action, these departures from official usage were occasionally frowned upon. But the end has so abundantly justified the means that the episodes are now only recalled to adorn a tale of Downing Street short-sightedness. Later traditions of Colonial Office policy centre in the personality of Sir John Anderson, who, taking up the duties at Singapore with a burden of prejudice against him on the score of his association with the official hierarchy in Whitehall, left the Colony after seven arduous years' administration with a reputation not surpassed by the record of any of his immediate predecessors. His name will always be coupled in Malayan history with the territorial changes which are to influence so materially the political future of the Malay Peninsula. The reins of office have passed from his capable charge into the hands of Sir Arthur Young, who was called from the local service to fill the highest position in the

Government—an honour which, amongst Governors of the Colony, he shares exclusively with Sir Frank Swettenham. Sir Arthur Young's association with the Government policy in Malaya during the past six years, and his strong and attractive personal qualities, are sufficient guarantees that there shall be no interruption in the progressive policy so brilliantly inaugurated by his predecessor. So we may reasonably look forward with confidence to the future, assured that the destinies of Malaya are in good hands and that no effort will be wanting on the part of those now in authority to garner to the full that rich harvest which the genius of successive generations of British administrators has made possible by their self-sacrificing devotion.

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